

THE SACRED CANTATAS OF CHRISTOPH GRAUPNER:
MUSIC AT THE INTERSECTION OF OPERA AND THEOLOGY

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THE SACRED CANTATAS OF CHRISTOPH GRAUPNER:
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Christoph Graupner (1683–1760), Kapellmeister at the court of Hessen-Darmstadt, was one of the most prolific composers of German liturgical cantatas in the eighteenth-century—a genre that had come to constitute the principal musical event in the Lutheran devotional service. Traditionally this genre has been defined solely through the works of J. S. Bach and therefore Graupner's works, which survive almost entirely intact, present a unique opportunity to broaden our understanding. In this dissertation, which represents a step toward a more comprehensive appreciation of Graupner's oeuvre, I explore his works in connection with their compositional circumstances. I begin by situating his works and their reception historiographically, especially with respect to Bach. In my third chapter, I address their theological content, particularly with a focus on the Lutheran doctrines of salvation and eschatology. In my fifth chapter, I demonstrate Graupner's close connections with opera and the concomitant influence on the cantatas. Interspersed between these three larger chapters are two shorter 'interludes' on vocal and instrumental performance practice respectively.

Biographical Sketch

Evan Cortens holds a Bachelor of Music in Music History and Literature from the University of Calgary (2006) and a Master of Music in Musicology from Boston University (2008). He began his studies at Cornell University in 2008, and completed his Master of Arts in Musicology there in 2011. During the 2011–12 academic year, he served as President of the Cornell Graduate and Professional Student Association. He spent the summer of 2012 conducting archival research in Darmstadt, Germany supported by the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD). In the spring of 2013, he was an instructor for Cornell's Prison Education Program at the Auburn Correctional Facility in Auburn, New York. He participated in the Mozarteum's inaugural Studienkolleg in September 2013 in Salzburg, Austria. His work has been published in the *Society for Eighteenth-Century Music Newsletter*, *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, *Eighteenth-Century Music*, *Keyboard Perspectives* and *HAYDN: The Online Journal of the Haydn Society of North America*. His edition of Johann Samuel Schroeter's *Six Keyboard Concertos, op. 3* was published by A-R Editions in 2013. Since January 2014, he held the title of Lecturer at the University of Western Ontario.

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List of Abbreviations

B-Br Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles.

BWV Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990).

D-B Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung.

D-DS Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt.

D-DSsa Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt.

D-Gs Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

D-W Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

GWV Oswald Bill, ed., *Christoph Graupner: thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2005–).

KJV King James Bible.

LW Jaroslav Pelikan, ed., *Luther's Works* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–76).

PL-Kj Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków.

WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar, 1883ff).

Chapter 1

“The Road Not Taken,” or Graupner Cantatas in History

That one can even write a dissertation about Christoph Graupner marks a peculiar failure of his project to erase himself from history. Had he been successful, his entire corpus of works—some 1,400 cantatas, over 100 sinfonias, and more—would have been completely destroyed, as evidently happened to the works of his co-Kapellmeister Gottfried Grünewald. But not only was his music preserved from destruction in the eighteenth-century, it has managed to remain almost exclusively in one place until the present day.¹ This has had negative consequences too, for the very same course of events that kept Graupner’s music together also prevented its circulation and study for the first century and a half follow-

¹ For the complete history of the transmission of Graupner’s cantatas, see the “Work Transmission” section, beginning on page 22.

ing his death. Indeed, even when the city of Darmstadt was fire-bombed on September 11, 1944, the Graupner sources in the Hessische Landesbibliothek (now the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek at the Technische Universität Darmstadt) were securely stored away, safe from destruction (Figure 1.1).²

By contrast, the cantata corpus by Graupner's most prominent contemporaries—from J. F. Fasch and G. H. Stölzel to G. P. Telemann and J. S. Bach—have suffered significant losses. In Stölzel's case, his successor at Gotha, G. A. Benda, reportedly destroyed large quantities of his music, and therefore many of his cantatas now survive only in contemporary secondary sources in Sondershausen.³ As for Bach, due to the vagaries of source transmission in the decades after his death, as much as one-third of his total cantata output may have vanished.⁴ Thus Graupner's works, surviving in their entirety, present an extraordinary opportunity. Indeed, I would argue, they have the potential to refine our understanding of this genre, traditionally viewed mostly, if not entirely, through the works of Bach. Thanks to the recent digitization efforts of the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, this is the first dissertation to have

² The foundations of the collection date back to the court library established by Landgraf Georg I just a few years after the creation of Hessen-Darmstadt as a separate state. In 1920, after the abolition of the German monarchy, the library was renamed the "Hessische Landesbibliothek." Though much of the library's collection was destroyed in the war (Kaiser says upwards of 90%), the Graupner materials were preserved. After the war, when the library was rebuilt as part of the university, it was renamed the "Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek." Finally, in 2004, after the reorganization of the university, it was renamed the "Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt." For a history of the first 400 years of the library, see Fritz Kaiser, "Zur Geschichte der Darmstädter Musiksammlung," in *Durch der Jahrhunderte Strom: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt—Zum 400-jährigen Bestehen der Bibliothek* (1967), 108–40.

³ Christian Ahrens, "Zu Gotha ist eine gute Kapelle—": *aus dem Innenleben einer thüringischen Hofkapelle des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2009).

⁴ William H. Scheide, "Ist Mizlers Bericht über Bachs Kantaten korrekt?," *Die Musikforschung* 14, no. 1 (Jan–Mar 1961): 60–63; Alfred Dürr, "Wieviele Kantatenjahrgänge hat Bach komponiert?," *Die Musikforschung* 14, no. 2 (Apr–Jun 1961): 192–195; William H. Scheide, "Nochmals Mizlers Kantatenbericht—Eine Erwiderung," *Die Musikforschung* 14, no. 4 (Oct–Dec 1961): 423–427.



Figure 1.1: The Darmstadt Schloss and Weißer Turm after Bombing (September 1944) ("11. September 1944: Die Darmstädter Brandnacht," *Echo Online*)

complete access to the entirety of Graupner's church cantatas—the previous dissertations in this area have had to rely on microfilm or photocopy reproductions of a small subset.

Though this dissertation focuses on Christoph Graupner, it is not exclusively a Graupner dissertation. Rather, we might think instead of Graupner as a starring player, but with a rich supporting cast of characters. A project that gives a comprehensive treatment to all, or even a significant number of Graupner's over 1,400 cantatas is virtually unwritable, and certainly would not take the form of a

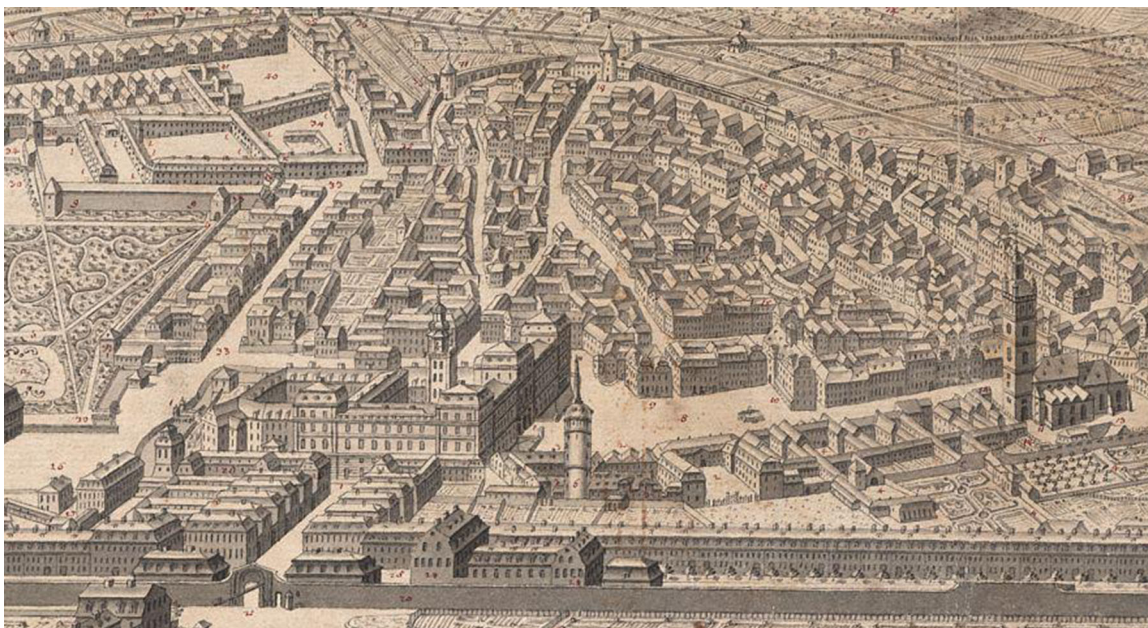


Figure 1.2: Darmstadt Schloss, Weißer Turm and Stadtkirche. Detail from *Prospect des Hochfürstlichen Residenz Schlosses und Haupt Stadt Darmstadt nebst Bessungen und umliegenden Situation*. Verfertigt von J[ohann] J[akob] Hill. 1775

dissertation. Instead, I seek to give a broad overview of what, in my view, are a number of significant issues raised by the church cantatas.

Recent work in musicology has demonstrated the effectiveness of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) for elucidating the connections between composers, patrons and their environment, among many other actors.⁵ For instance, Benjamin Piekut discusses the concept of ‘influence’ as one that often “floats abstractly in musicological scholarship.”⁶ Too often, he argues, the concept is used as a way to efface the “mediators that actually perform the act of influence,” for, he continues, “ideas ... do not travel from

⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of the use of ANT in musicology, see Benjamin Piekut, “Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques,” *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (2014): 1–25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

one place to another telepathically.” The challenge posed to musicology by this realization increases, I would argue, the further back in time one goes. For a composer like Graupner, living and working some 300 years ago, the material traces of influence—for example, what performances he attended, what books he owned, whose scores he possessed—are often challenging, if not impossible, to reconstruct. Whereas Piekut’s challenge in the second half of the twentieth century results from too much material, the eighteenth-century historian cannot get enough.⁷ This is not to say that we must necessarily live in the realm of pure speculation, for influence and exchange can often be objectively documented, but that we do unavoidably inhabit a realm in which speculation, albeit empirically grounded, plays a part. We will see this come into play in Chapter 1, in my discussion of Graupner’s possible influence on Bach, and in Chapter 5, on Graupner’s absorption of the “theatrical style.”

To be clear, I am not claiming to be an “ANT scholar,” and I will readily admit that this dissertation is not suffused with its precepts. That being said, I do want to problematize some of the pre-conceived notions of eighteenth-century music history. The one that looms largest is the centrality of Bach’s cantatas in our present-day understanding of the genre. However, I have no desire to replace one ‘Great Man’ story with another—to replace Bach with Graupner. Rather this is where the concept of the network comes into play. Neither composer worked alone, but rather their compositions, in some circumscribed sense, engaged in a ‘dialogue’ with other compositions.

⁷ Piekut, “Actor-Networks in Music History,” 13.

In this project, I will focus on Christoph Graupner, not to shine light on Bach, but rather to explore the world of eighteenth-century sacred and courtly music production. I am not trying to recover a lost 'Kleinmeister,' to elevate him to the same level as Bach;⁸ rather I am arguing against the necessity for such levels to begin with. To put it another way, I am not offering an aesthetic judgment of Graupner, so much as I am attempting to lay the basic groundwork necessary to allow such appreciation. In that respect, my efforts here are almost by definition preliminary—exhaustive treatment of over 1,400 cantatas is not possible within the confines of a single dissertation.

This dissertation is structured in five chapters: three larger chapters with two shorter ones in between. The three large chapters, are, broadly speaking, on the topic of eighteenth-century networks. In the first chapter, I discuss the Graupner historiography, particularly comparing him to J. S. Bach. Thus Bach, and his music, necessarily play a large role here. The other network at play in this chapter concerns our present-day understanding of the church cantata. In the third chapter, I situate Graupner within his theological context, particularly as it relates to Lutheran conceptions of death, salvation and the *ars moriendi*. In the fifth, and final chapter, I argue that the modern German church cantata grew up in the opera house. I discuss not only musical resonances here, but also demonstrate the rich fab-

⁸ The anonymous reviewer of Elisabeth Noack's history makes this ranking explicit: "Neither [...] Briegel nor [...] Graupner was a genius. However, both were *petits maîtres* of considerable talent and enterprise, occupying a prominent position on the German musical scene between the deaths of Heinrich Schütz and J. S. Bach." H. F. R., review of *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit*, by Elisabeth Noack, *Music & Letters* 50, no. 1 (January 1969): 199.

ric of collaboration, influence and exchange between Graupner and his contemporaries, working both inside and outside the church.

Chapters two and four by contrast, deal more directly with philological issues, particularly as they relate to performance practice. The two chapters present different facets of the same issue: the first one focuses on vocal issues and the second on instrumental issues, particularly the use of the organ. The purpose of these chapters is two-fold. First, they represent an initial step toward demonstrating the amount of performance practice information present in such a vast collection of original performing materials. Second, they engage with the cantatas not as abstract repertoire, but as lived and performed music, in an identifiable and describable space.

Rather than taking one composer and looking inward, I strive to start with one composer, and look outward. Graupner is the focus, he is "im Zentrum," but he is not my sole concern.⁹ Instead of thinking of Graupner, or his contemporaries, as composers jealously guarding their own works, laboring in isolation at their own courts and churches, I argue that when one begins to look, one sees a vibrant network of musical exchange and mutual appreciation.

⁹ In this respect, my models here are books such as Mary Kathleen Hunter and James Webster, eds., *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Christoph Wolff and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke: Aspekte musikalischer Biographie: Johann Sebastian Bach im Zentrum* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999).

Christoph Graupner’s Biography

The autobiography of Christoph Graupner,¹⁰ as published in Johann Mattheson’s *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, is the primary source for much of our knowledge about his life, especially the first third, before his move to Hamburg.¹¹ Graupner was born on January 13, 1683 in the small Saxon town of Kirchberg, roughly 13 km south of Zwickau, in the Ore Mountains, near the present-day border with the Czech Republic.¹² Though not born to a musical family, he was fortunate to receive instruction from the local cantor Gottfried Mylius and organist Nikolaus Küster.¹³ In 1693 he departed for Reichenbach to follow Küster, and remained there until he was admitted as a pupil at the Thomasschule in Leipzig.

Either unknown by or unavailable to previous scholars, we now have Graupner’s own hand-written entry in the Leipzig Thomasschule matriculation book, which is dated October 22, 1695 and reads

¹⁰ Beginning in the 1950s, a spurious “Johann” began to be prepended to Graupner’s name. This cannot be substantiated by any of the contemporary records. See Christoph Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken: Studien zur Darmstädter Hofmusik und thematischer Katalog* (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 13n1.

¹¹ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 410–13. The full text of this entry is transcribed in Appendix A, beginning on page 230. An earlier version of this portion of the chapter appeared as Evan Cortens, “The Curious Case of Christoph Graupner,” *Society for Eighteenth-Century Music Newsletter* 22 (October 2013): 1, 11–12.

¹² There is no direct source evidence, such as a birth record or baptismal record, for Graupner’s birth date (Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 13). However, the entry in the Darmstadt church records reports that his age was “77 years and 4 months less 3 days” (Oswald Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken Christoph Graupners in Darmstadt,” in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 [Mainz: Schott, 1987], 107). Given that we know his death date was May 10, 1760 (Jürgen Neubacher, “Eine bislang unbeachtete Quelle zur Biographie und zum Todesdatum des Hessen-Darmstädtischen Hofkapellmeisters Christoph Graupner,” *Mitteilungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für mittelhessische Musikgeschichte* 72 [2001]: 3–7), his birth date can be accurately calculated.

¹³ Graupner mistakenly writes “Wolfgang Michael Mylius”; see Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 14.

as follows: "Christoph Graupner from Kirchberg aus Maisen, twelve years old, promises to remain at this school for eight years."¹⁴ So we can now say with certainty that Graupner began his studies in Leipzig in 1695, not earlier or later as previous scholars have estimated.¹⁵ Other than what Graupner himself reports in his autobiography, we know very little about his time at the Thomasschule, as almost no primary source documents survive. However Michael Maul has recently discovered the complete list of choir prefects at the Leipzig Thomasschule from 1670 to 1770. Using this information, he has reported that Graupner served as the prefect of the first *Kantorei* for the 1704/5 school year.¹⁶ This was a particularly prestigious position, and speaks to the high esteem in which he was held by the Cantor, Johann Kuhnau.¹⁷ He then would likely have moved out of the school around Easter (April 12) 1705, the typical time for students relinquish their resident positions.

¹⁴ "Christoph Graupner von Kirchberg aus Maisen seines | alters 12 Jahr verspricht auf dieser Schule zu bleiben 8 Jahr" (Archiv des Thomanerchors, no shelfmark). My sincere thanks to Michael Maul for providing me with his own photograph of the relevant page of the Thomasschule matriculation book.

¹⁵ The articles on Graupner in both *Grove Music Online* and in the second edition of *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* use nearly the identical formulation, saying that Graupner followed his teacher Nikolaus Küster to Reichenbach in 1694 and he remained there until being admitted to the Thomasschule in 1696 (Andrew D. McCredie, "Graupner, Christoph," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 15, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11654>; Christoph Hust, "Graupner, Christoph," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [2001]: 1525). However, Oswald Bill and René Schmidt both move the dates two years early, writing that he moved to Reichenbach in 1691 and enrolled at the Thomasschule in 1693 (Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 99; René Schmidt, "The Christmas Cantatas of Christoph Graupner (1683–1760)" [PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1992], 4). None of these four sources give any specific citation for this information.

¹⁶ Michael Maul, *"Dero berühmter Chor": Die Leipziger Thomasschule und ihre Kantoren (1212–1804)* (Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2012), 83. This same position had been held by Reinhard Keiser in 1692/93.

¹⁷ That it was traditionally the responsibility of the Cantor to appoint the choral prefects is confirmed by an incident in 1736, in which J. S. Bach believed that his authority was undermined by the Rector Johann Heinrich Ernesti and J. S. Bach. See Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, eds., *The New Bach Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 172–85.

In the Summer 1703 semester, Graupner paid a 12 *groschen* matriculation fee (*Immatrikulationsgebühr*) to Leipzig University in order to enroll as a so-called “deponent,” meaning that he paid his fees well in advance in order to secure his place there.¹⁸ He officially matriculated at the university two years later, beginning his law studies in the Summer 1705 semester. We can thus see the accuracy of Graupner’s recollection that, even though he promised to stay at the Thomasschule only for eight years, he in fact remained for “over nine years.”¹⁹ During his time in Leipzig, he received instruction from both Johann Schelle and Johann Kuhnau and he befriended fellow student Johann David Heinichen (1683–1729), who would become Kapellmeister at Dresden and write the important treatise *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden, 1728).²⁰ He must also have made the acquaintance of Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1760), then director of the Collegium Musicum, and only two years his senior.²¹

¹⁸ See Georg Erler, ed., *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559–1809* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1909), 2:142: “**Graubner** Christoph. Kirchberg. dp. 12 gr. i S 1703 M 22, prom. i S 1705 M 164.” Oswald Bill misinterprets this entry, reading it to mean that Graupner enrolled in 1703 (Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 99).

¹⁹ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 410. From the end of October 1695 to the summer of 1705 is roughly 9.5 years.

²⁰ For an annotated English translation, see George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

²¹ Just how much contact Graupner had with Telemann has been debated. Elizabeth Noack contends that there was a lively musical exchange, even friendship, between the two (“G. Ph. Telemanns Beziehungen zu Darmstädter Musikern,” in *Konferenzbericht des 3. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage vom 22. bis 26. Juni 1967. Georg Philipp Telemann: Ein bedeutender Meister der Aufklärungsepoche* [Magdeburg: Rat der Stadt, 1969], 2:13–17). By contrast, Oswald Bill argues that their contact was limited until Endler’s arrival in Darmstadt in 1723, with his own large collection of Telemann scores (“Telemann und Graupner,” in *Telemann und seine Freunde: Kontakte, Einflüsse, Auswirkungen: Bericht über die internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich der 8. Telemann-Festtage der DDR, Magdeburg 15. und 16. März 1984* [Magdeburg: Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und -Forschung, 1986], 27–35).

Graupner writes that in 1706 war between Sweden and Saxony forced him to emigrate to Hamburg.²² Possibly he fled to avoid being pressed into military service.²³ This invasion occurred in the context of the Great Northern War; the Swedes beat the Saxons decisively in the Battle of Fraustadt, which took place on February 13, 1706. This led to the (first) Treaty of Altranstädt, signed on October 13, 1706, which forced August the Strong to abdicate the Polish throne.²⁴ Graupner’s departure from Leipzig thus likely took place sometime during this seven-month period.

Carl Dahlhaus, writing about the autobiography, and using Graupner’s as an example, emphasizes that it is at heart a literary genre.²⁵ It has, in other words, a great deal in common with literary forms like the novel, and is not, strictly speaking, a disinterested recounting of objective facts and events. This leads Dahlhaus to criticize Wilibald Nagel’s “scholarly” (*wissenschaftlich*) Graupner biography for failing to recognize this—instead of absorbing all that he can from Graupner’s anecdotes, he seeks to boil them down to their pure factual content. This leads him to dismiss Graupner’s comments about Hamburg on account of a “bourgeois prejudice [*bürgerliches Vorurteil*] against the theater” and to omit entirely Graupner’s detailed anecdote about his journey from Leipzig to Hamburg as a “bizarre digres-

²² Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 411.

²³ Friedrich Noack, *Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik am landgräflichen Hofe zu Darmstadt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916), 3; Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 17.

²⁴ For further detail on this series of wars, see Robert I. Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State, and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000).

²⁵ Carl Dahlhaus, “Christoph Graupner und das Formprinzip in Autobiographie,” in *Bachiana et alia Musicologica: Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag am 3. März 1983*, ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), 58.

sion" ("skurrile Abschweifung").²⁶ This is an especially curious decision, Dahlhaus notes, because the anecdote of Graupner's journey from Leipzig to Hamburg is longer than the entire description of his first three decades in Darmstadt. I would extend Dahlhaus's comment here to refer to the entire autobiography, noting some striking discrepancies between length of time and word-length of coverage. Right after the departure anecdote, for instance, Graupner devotes 263 words of his 912 word autobiography, or 29%, to his activities in Hamburg, which lasted only three years, or about 5% of the time-period covered by the autobiography. The entire time in Darmstadt, meanwhile, is given only 146 words (=16%), when it covers 31 years (=55%). The only specific event he mentions is his application for the Leipzig Kantorate, and he dispatches with that in twenty-nine-word sentence. It is not that the autobiography must be completely proportional, but rather that such striking discrepancies are deserving of comment.

"My luck, or rather, divine providence was so wonderful," writes Graupner, "that the very day before my arrival, Johann Christian Schiefferdecker left Hamburg, where he had played keyboard [*Clavier*] in the opera, and went to Lübeck..."²⁷ Schiefferdecker went there to succeed Buxtehude as organist—Buxtehude died on May 9, 1707 and the town council elected Schiefferdecker as his official successor on June 23.²⁸ However, Schiefferdecker had served as an assistant to Buxtehude during the last year of

²⁶ Dahlhaus, "Christoph Graupner und das Formprinzip in Autobiographie," 59–60.

²⁷ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 411–12.

²⁸ *Grove Music Online* gives the date for this succession as "January 23, 1707," but this must be an error, since Buxtehude was still alive (G. B. Sharp and Dorothea Schröder, "Schiefferdecker, Johann Christian," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed

Buxtehude's life, which, if taken literally, means that Schiefferdecker may have assumed his new position in Lübeck as early as May 1706, providing us a *terminus post quem* for Graupner's arrival. In a petition to the town council dated May 4, 1706, Buxtehude indicated that he had a capable *subjectum*, who was qualified to succeed him, and was willing to marry his daughter, as was the custom—Schiefferdecker has long been identified as this *subjectum*.²⁹ Thus it appears very likely that Graupner had arrived in Hamburg as early as May 1706.

It is difficult to believe, however, that Graupner was completely forthcoming to Mattheson about his knowledge of the Hamburg vacancy, for there were several personal connections between him and Schiefferdecker that make it, I think, more likely that he knew of it in advance. Though Graupner does not admit any specific knowledge of him, or his position, we know that Schiefferdecker had been a student at the Leipzig Thomasschule from 1692 to 1697.³⁰ That is to say that Graupner's first two years there were Schiefferdecker's final two. With so few pupils enrolled as alumni (i.e., resident students) at the Thomasschule at anyone time, the two must have encountered one other, even if they did not become close friends. Schiefferdecker was also a singer at the Leipzig opera at the same time as

February 15, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24849>). Both MGG and Kerala Snyder report that the town council chose Schiefferdecker on June 23, 1707, or five months later (Eduard Mutschelknauss, "Schiefferdecker, Johann Christian," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Personenteil*, 14:1331–32; Kerala Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* [Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007], 104).

²⁹ Walter E. Buszin, "Dietrich Buxtehude (1637–1707): On the Tercentenary of His Birth," *The Musical Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (October 1937): 469; Wilhelm Stahl, "Franz Tunder und Dietrich Buxtehude. Ein biographischer Versuch," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 8, no. 1 (October 1926): 72–73.

³⁰ Sharp and Schröder, "Schiefferdecker, Johann Christian."

Graupner.³¹ Additionally, we know that when Graupner's friend Heinichen left Leipzig, also in 1706, he went to Weissenfels, where he also encountered Schiefferdecker, who was working there as the court organist.³² Also present in Weissenfels was Gottfried Grönewald, another schoolmate of Graupner's, singer at the Leipzig opera, and his future vice Kapellmeister in Darmstadt.³³ This makes it, I think, more likely than not that Graupner had some kind of advance notice of Schiefferdecker's departure, whether directly from him, or through an intermediary such as Heinichen or Grönewald.

Though Graupner gives few details, his intent is clearly to convey the hurried nature in which his evacuation took place: he had barely any food or money, and no time to pack up the precious musical materials he had acquired, including his own compositions. We know from a roughly contemporary report by Georg Christian Lehms, another of Graupner's schoolmates and future Darmstadt colleague, that Graupner had already set at least one of his texts to music in the form of a cantata.³⁴ He does not, however, address one important question: why did he decide to go to Hamburg? Furthermore, he does not directly address why he decided to work at the opera, rather than within the church. Perhaps the reason that Graupner is somewhat coy here is that he moved to Hamburg with the *express purpose* to work at the opera. From the perspective of 1740, after he had worked for nearly three

³¹ Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen*, 6.

³² Sharp and Schröder, "Schiefferdecker, Johann Christian."

³³ Wilibald Nagel, "Gottfried Grönewald," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12, no. 1 (December 1910): 100.

³⁴ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 194, 195.

decades exclusively as a church and court composer, his decision to pursue a career as an opera composer appeared somewhat naive. Thus he downplays his decision to leave Leipzig, depicting it as one of pure necessity. That is to say, he depicts his arrival as a fortuitous turn of events, resulting from God's divine providence, that a vacancy *just happened* to open up as the harpsichordist at the opera.

Graupner stayed in Hamburg for only three years, but he composed five complete operas, collaborating with Reinhard Keiser to compose portions of at least three more (Table 1.1). It was here that Ernst Ludwig, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, on one of his many trips to attend the opera, invited Graupner to take up a position at the Darmstadt court. Even two decades after his death, his Hamburg operas stood out in his legacy. As a later biography puts it: "His first known works are operas, which were performed at the Hamburg theater. He worked in this style with much applause and thereby recommended himself foremost to Landgrave Ernst Ludwig."³⁵ It was not just that the Landgrave heard Graupner play in his capacity as continuo harpsichordist at the opera, but it was specifically his opera compositions that persuaded Ernst Ludwig to hire him as his new Kapellmeister. Thus Graupner became vice Kapellmeister in 1709, while the Kapellmeister Wolfgang Carl Briegel still lived, and succeeded him upon his death in 1712. It would seem that it was always Ernst Ludwig's intention that Graupner should succeed Briegel, and he was given the title of vice Kapellmeister only out of deference

³⁵ "Seine zuerst bekannt gewordene Arbeiten sind Opern, welche auf dem Theater zu Hamburg aufgeführt wurden. Er arbeitete in diesem Stil mit vielem Beyfall und empfahl sich dadurch zuerst Landgrafen Ernst Ludwig" (Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 88).

to Briegel—when he was “promoted” to Kapellmeister in 1712, it did not come with any increase in salary or change in duties, only a change in title.³⁶ Thus we see that Ernst Ludwig went to Hamburg to hire primarily an opera composer.³⁷

Table 1.1: Graupner’s Hamburg Operas

| Year ³⁸ | Opera | Librettist | Remarks |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| 1707 | Antiochus und Stratonica | B. Feind | |
| 1707 | Dido, Königin von Carthago | H. Hinsch | |
| 1707 | Der Carneval von Venedig | Meister & Cuno | primarily Keiser |
| 1708-11-28 | Bellerophon | B. Feind | |
| 1708 | Hercules und Theseus | Breymann | |
| 1708 | Die lustige Hochzeit | Cuno | with Keiser? |
| 1709 | Heliates und Olympia | Keiser? | Keiser? with Graupner? |
| 1709-11-18 ³⁹ | Simson | B. Feind | |

As we might have expected, Graupner is somewhat oblique about his move to Darmstadt, writing:

Als ich nach dem das Hochfürstliche Wapen zu Gesichte bekam, so sahe ich darin meinen mir im Traum erschienenen schönen Stern, welchen ich also nicht anders deuten konnte, als auf meinen gar gnädigsten Herrn selbst, dem ich bey 30. Jahr zu dienen die Ehre gehabt habe.

When I spotted thereafter the royal coat of arms, I recognized in it the star that had appeared to me in my dreams, [see top right, Figure 1.3] which [referring to the star] I could not interpret as anything else then as [pointing] to my gracious master himself, whom I have had the privilege of serving for thirty years.⁴⁰

³⁶ Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 110–11.

³⁷ For more on Ernst Ludwig’s connection with opera, see Chapter 5, beginning on page 204.

³⁸ Derived from Hans Joachim Marx and Dorothea Schröder, *Die Hamburger Gänsemarkt-Oper: Katalog der Textbücher (1678–1748)* (Laaber: Laaber, 1995); see also Johann Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728), 187.

³⁹ Graupner’s earliest cantata dates from March 1709; it thus appears that Graupner would not have been present in Hamburg for the performance of *Simson*.

⁴⁰ Ernst Ludwig died on September 12, 1739.



Figure 1.3: Hessen-Darmstadt Coat of Arms, ca. 1736

As with his move to Hamburg in the first place, Graupner invokes divine providence. It was not his decision to relocate to Darmstadt, but rather he was merely following God’s will, as shown to him in a dream. Even though the landgrave is deceased by the time of Graupner’s writing, his prose is nonetheless marked with deference.

In his first years in Darmstadt, Graupner had a well-funded ensemble at his disposal, and was able to devote significant time to opera composition, alongside his work on cantatas and instrumental music. Evidence for four operas survives, and Graupner may well have written more.⁴¹ However in 1719, this ideal situation began to deteriorate. Ernst Ludwig’s lavish court lifestyle, “a courtly lifestyle that went

⁴¹ See Table 5.3 on page 214.

far beyond what was realistically feasible,"⁴² had been financed almost exclusively by debt. Salaries often simply went unpaid, and while some of the musicians were able to supplement their income, others were forced to steal away in the dead of night. To give one example, the concertmaster Johann Jacob Kreß was owed 400 *Gulden*, or more than one year's salary.⁴³ Thus the size and quality of the musical ensemble was gradually reduced, and in 1722 the opera house was closed.⁴⁴

Matters came to a head in 1722, leading to the best-known event in Graupner's career. After the death of his teacher Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722), Graupner applied to succeed him as cantor at the Leipzig Thomasschule. Though Bach would go on to take the position, he was not the town council's first choice. Telemann was the initial selection, but withdrew from consideration in Leipzig after receiving a salary increase in Hamburg. This cleared the way for Graupner, the council's second choice. Because the musical materials for Graupner's audition survive, we can see that he approached the Leipzig job very strategically. Not only did he present two cantatas in the latest style—*Aus der Tiefen rufen wir*, GWV 1113/23a and *Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden*, GWV 1113/23b—he composed a Magnificat (GWV 1172/22) that hearkens back to the style of his teacher Kuhnau.⁴⁵ Graupner thus

⁴² Ursula Kramer, "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt," in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2011), 345.

⁴³ Kramer, "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt," 346.

⁴⁴ Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 23.

⁴⁵ On the compositional genesis of the magnificat, see Schmidt, "Christmas Cantatas," 40–42; on the musical form and structure, see Friedrich Noack, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner: Mein Herze schwimmt in Blut," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 2, no. 1 (1919): 147–53.

seems have been attempting to please both factions on the Leipzig town council: writing theatrical church music for those who wanted a "Kapellmeister" and writing old-fashioned church music for those who wanted a "Kantor."⁴⁶

Even though Graupner spent fifty of his seventy-seven years in Darmstadt, in his autobiography he devotes only a short paragraph to it, concluding as follows:

Im Jahre 1723. sollte ich nach Leipzig, als Cantor, hinkommen: alles war auch in so weit schon richtig; es kam aber so viel dazwischen, daß es nicht angehen konnte. Itzund habe das Glück und die Gnade, so lange es GOtt gefällt, das nunmehr regierenden Herrn Landgrafens Hochfürstliche Durchlauchtigkeit, als Capellmeister, zu dienen, wobey mir die gantze Arbeit allein zugewachsenen, nachdem der gute Grünwald vor einem halben Jahre verstorben ist.⁴⁷

In the year of 1723 I was to go to Leipzig, as Cantor: everything seemed all right; but much occurred in between, so that it could not happen. I now have the happiness and grace, as long as it pleases God, to serve as Kapellmeister his Serene Highness the currently reigning Lord Landgrave, whereby, after the death of the good Grünwald half a year ago,⁴⁸ all of the work has now accrued to me.

Yet again, Graupner is strangely oblique, for he does not explain either why he applied to the Leipzig position or why he did not end up taking it.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ On the politics behind the Leipzig job search, see Ulrich Siegele, "Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 69 (1983): 7–50; Ulrich Siegele, "Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit, II," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 70 (1984): 7–43; Ulrich Siegele, "Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit, III," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 72 (1986): 33–67.

⁴⁷ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 412–13.

⁴⁸ Nagel reports that Grünwald died on December 19, 1739, citing an entry from the "Totenbuch," which gives his burial date as the 22nd of that same month (Nagel, "Gottfried Grünwald," 104). Mattheson reports that Graupner's letter was dated May 21, but gives no year. For the chronology to line up, it must have been 1740, roughly a half year after Grünwald's death.

⁴⁹ In 1890, Carl Ferdinand Pohl wrote that "in 1723 [Graupner] was proposed ... for the post of Cantor at the Thomas-schule (when Bach was elected), but he preferred remaining in Darmstadt" (Carl Ferdinand Pohl, "Graupner, Christoph," in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove [London, 1890], 1:622). This has left some with the impression that the reason Graupner stayed in Darmstadt rather than move to Leipzig was purely personal

There is every reason to believe that Graupner fully intended to leave Darmstadt if possible. We know from his own letter to the Leipzig town council, begging their forgiveness and thanking them for their time, that he strongly wanted to leave Darmstadt, but Ernst Ludwig wouldn't let him.⁵⁰ The town council even wrote to the Landgrave, pleading, in part, "All the world knows that Your Most Serene Highness not only has an abundance of virtuosi, an area in which we are lacking, but also that daily you have an influx of others seeking positions."⁵¹ The implication here is that Leipzig would be enriched by Graupner's presence, but Darmstadt could continue on without him. But Ernst Ludwig knew the truth: he desperately needed Graupner at the center of his musical establishment if he had any hope of maintaining its quality; his departure would leave "a large gap in our Kapelle."⁵² Graupner withdrew from consideration in Leipzig on March 22, 1723 and Bach was selected a month later, on April 22nd.

Since his contract was also renegotiated, and his salary increased,⁵³ this leaves the impression that

preference. Though Pohl gives no direct citation for this information, his debt to Graupner's autobiography as printed in Mattheson's *Grundlage* is clear. Even though this edition of the encyclopedia was published well over a century ago, its impact can still be felt. *Grove Music Online* says that, in light of the increased salary, Graupner "decided to remain in Darmstadt," even though the article admits that the Landgrave would not accept his resignation (McCredie, "Graupner, Christoph"). Most recently, Andrew Talle writes only that after Graupner was offered the Leipzig position, he "turned it down to remain in Darmstadt" (Andrew Talle, "Bach, Graupner, and the Rest of Their Contented Contemporaries," in *J. S. Bach and His German Contemporaries*, ed. Andrew Talle, Bach Perspectives 9 [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013], 51), suggesting that it was a result of personal preference.

⁵⁰ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 134–35.

⁵¹ "Wann dann aller Welt zur Genüge bekandt, daß Eu: Hochfürstl. Durchl. nicht allein mit Virtuosen seines gleichen, daran sich dermahlen bey uns Mangel ereignen will, im Überflusse versehen sind sondern auch täglich von andern neu ankommenden um Beförderung angelanget werden:" Original in D-DSsa D-8-15/6 (dated January 20, 1723); transcribed in *ibid.*, 129.

⁵² "daß durch dessen Abzug Unsere Capell in grosen Abgang gerathen dürfte" (*ibid.*, 146).

⁵³ Kramer, "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt," 346.

Graupner was mercenary, or even greedy. That is to say that some have taken it to be comparable to Telemann, who had only assumed his new position in Hamburg the previous year, and, I would argue, never seemed to seriously consider leaving it. Graupner's salary negotiation should instead be seen as a promise to pay him at all, as his salary, like so many of the Darmstadt court musicians, had fallen into arrears. He even had to disguise his application to Leipzig in the form of a request for a holiday.⁵⁴ With this in mind, it is no surprise that Graupner is so vague in his autobiographical to Mattheson, leaving a misleading impression that he freely chose, or even preferred, Darmstadt. Mattheson's *Vollkommener Kapellmeister* was dedicated to Ernst Ludwig, who had been the Landgrave during the 1723 application, suggesting a close connection with the Darmstadt court. Even though Ernst Ludwig died before the publication of the volume, the text itself indicates that Graupner wrote it while his original landgrave was still alive. Thus, we can hardly expect that he would give his uncensored honest opinions. Rather we see the complete deference by which so much courtly correspondence is marked. Rather than a free citizen, who preferred Darmstadt over Leipzig, Graupner was an embattled servant, forced to remain at a court barely able to pay its musicians.

That he would be ranked by his contemporaries among the top composers in Germany at the time speaks to Graupner's considerable talent and reputation. So far as is known, he did not attempt to leave Darmstadt again. He gives few details about his final decades in his letter to Mattheson—written

⁵⁴ Kramer, "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt," 346; Elisabeth Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit*, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 8 (Mainz: B. Schott, 1967), 208–9.

in May of 1740—except to say that he is extraordinarily busy. He writes: "I am so overburdened by my employment, that I can hardly do anything else but must always ensure that my compositions are finished in time for a given Sunday or feast day, though other matters keep intervening."⁵⁵ In the early 1750s, Graupner, by then in his late sixties, went blind—cantata composition ceased entirely after 1754—and he died six years later.

During his lifetime, Graupner published three sets of keyboard works: *Acht Partien auf das Clavier* (1718), *Monatliche Clavierfrüchte* (1722) and *Die vier Jahreszeiten* (1733). Somewhat atypically, Graupner engraved all of these works himself. Most of his music, however, remained unpublished and did not circulate beyond Darmstadt. This included over a hundred symphonies and dozens of concertos; none of his church music was published in his lifetime.

Work Transmission

While we are fortunate that, contrary to his wishes, his musical manuscripts were not destroyed after his death, it was not simply placed into the court library.⁵⁶ After Graupner's death, Johann Samuel Endler assumed the position of Darmstadt court Kapellmeister. Unlike the instrumental music, for

⁵⁵ "Ich bin also mit Geschäften dermaassen überhäusset, daß ich fast gar nichts anders verrichten kann, und [p. 413] nur immer sorgen muß, mit meiner Composition fertig zu werden, indem ein Sonn- und Fest-Tag dem andern die Hand bietet, auch noch öfters andre Vorfälle dazwischen kommen." Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 412–13. (See also Appendix A, page 230.) This is almost certainly the source for C. F. Pohl's statement, in the first edition of *Grove*, that Graupner "worked almost night and day."

⁵⁶ Oswald Bill and Christoph Großpietsch, *Christoph Graupner: thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke: Graupner-Werke-Verzeichnis, GWV: Instrumentalwerke* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2005), xxviii–xxxvi.

which new compositions were constantly in demand, the cantatas were reusable in the court chapel, a purpose for which Endler evidently continued to use them. While it would have been more typical at this time for the manuscripts to remain in the possession of the court, the fact that Endler had to borrow performance materials from Graupner's children indicates that they were instead in the possession of the heirs.⁵⁷

However, sensing the value of this music, the heirs, who did not have any use themselves for this considerable quantity of music, sought to sell it to the Landgrave Ludwig VIII, the son of the man who initially hired Graupner. When this suggestion was put to the Landgrave, however, his response was less than positive: why should he, who had already paid Graupner a salary for the last fifty years, need to pay more for the music that he wrote during his tenure? Indeed the Landgrave seemed almost baffled that the heirs would even think to ask for compensation—his personal involvement ended here, and court functionaries handled all further correspondence.⁵⁸

In 1766, the heirs wrote again to the court, and this time enclosed a series of supporting materials, including a letter by the Gotha Kapellmeister Georg Anton Benda (1722–1795). After laying out criteria to determine whether or not the works belong to the court or to the composer's heirs—including whether ownership was contractually specified—Benda ultimately sided with the latter. This document

⁵⁷ Bill and Großpietsch, *Christoph Graupner: thematisches Verzeichnis*, xxviii.

⁵⁸ The Landgrave's letter to the heirs is preserved in D-DSsa D 8 16/1, and reprinted in *ibid.*, xxix.

is part of the gradual development of the concept of intellectual property: the works are not mere occasional accompaniments, whose value dissipates after their initial performance, but rather they are the products of a creative mind, and they naturally belong to their creator, unless otherwise reassigned.⁵⁹

This latest missive was evidently enough to convince the Landgrave's advisors to offer 400 florins to the heirs, but this was dismissed by the Landgrave as being far too high. When Ludwig VII died in 1768, the matter remained unresolved, and when his son, Ludwig IX, took the throne, the court musical establishment was changed so extensively that there was no longer any need for cantatas. As the descendants themselves gradually passed away, the music was slowly consolidated into the possession of Graupner's niece Maria Luise Köhler (née Wachter).

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, the value of the music had clearly changed in the eyes of its possessors, and, for that matter, in the eyes of its potential purchaser, Grand Duke Ludwig I (formerly known as Landgrave Ludwig X). Rather than marketing them for their utility value—their potential use in the court chapel—the heirs saw them as a cultural treasure for the territory, and appealed

⁵⁹ The history of copyright law in general, and how it relates to music specifically, is complex and beyond the scope of this dissertation. The foundational study in this area is Hansjörg Pohlmann, *Die Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts, ca. 1400–1800: neue Materialien zur Entwicklung des Urheberrechtsbewusstseins der Komponisten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962). More recent work has focused on English common law in particular, including Ronald J. Rabin and Steven Zohn, "Arne, Handel, Walsh, and Music as Intellectual Property: Two Eighteenth-Century Lawsuits," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120, no. 1 (1995): 112–45 and John Small, "The Development of Musical Copyright," in *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, ed. Michael Kassler (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 233–386. A lengthy and detailed legal perspective, from the eighteenth century until the present, is given in Olufunmilayo B. Arewa, "From J. C. Bach to Hip Hop: Musical Borrowing, Copyright and Cultural Context," *North Carolina Law Review* 84 (2006): 547–645. On the economics of music more generally, see F. M. Scherer, *Quarter Notes and Bank Notes: The Economics of Music Composition in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

to the art- and music-loving duke on these terms. In a letter from March 1819, they refer to Graupner as a “famous composer” whose music is “particularly suitable for the collection of his royal highness.” (As had the first generation of heirs, this generation also tugged at the duke’s heartstrings, describing in detail their financial straits.) At last, this argument seems to have resonated: the duke purchased the music from Graupner’s heirs for the equivalent of 275 florins—not much more than half the amount contemplated some fifty years earlier.

The music was entered into the court library’s nineteenth-century catalogues, but so far as is known, it was unused, and sat in storage, unperformed and unstudied. During the fire-bombing of Darmstadt on September 11, 1944, virtually the entire city, including the Residenzschloß, the site of the court library, was destroyed. Yet the music survived, having been evacuated to a safe storage location, outside the city, the previous year. When it returned to the city, after the war, it was now the instrumental music that was thought to be more valuable than the cantatas—the latter were simply tied into bundles, grouped together by annual cycle. Not until the 1970s, over two hundred years since Graupner’s death, were they properly repackaged, in file folders comporting with standard archival practice, and this is how they remain today.

Contemporary Reports

As Oswald Bill’s collection of documents with mentions of Graupner during his lifetime shows, he was highly regarded by his contemporaries; if not exactly famous, he was certainly well known in musical circles.⁶⁰ The first mention of Graupner in print comes in the foreword to a novel by Georg Christian Lehms, where he specifically praises Graupner’s setting of an earlier text of his. Writing only in 1710, just one year after Graupner moved to Darmstadt, Lehms refers to him as “the famous Capellmeister of Hessen-Darmstadt,” singling out the quality of his “galant compositions.”⁶¹ Johann Gottfried Walther includes a short entry on Graupner in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* which highlights first his published keyboard music and then his five sole-composed Hamburg operas.⁶² The biographical content of the entry is short, mentioning only his birthplace and his schooling in Leipzig. Indeed, other than in giving his title as “Hochfürstl. Hessen-Darmstädtischer Capellmeister,” there is no suggestion of his presence in Darmstadt or his duties as a church composer.

For Walther, Graupner’s importance derived only from his work as a keyboard and opera composer; this is striking in light Mattheson’s praise of his church compositions at exactly this time: in

⁶⁰ Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 194–212.

⁶¹ “... der berühmte Hessen-Darmstädtische Capellmeister”; “galanten Composition.” Georg Christian Lehms, *Des Israelitischen Printzen Absalons und Seiner Princessin Schwester Thamar ... Helden-Geschichte* (Nürnberg, 1710), quoted in Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 195.

⁶² Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon Oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 290. Walther omits the operas Graupner composed in collaboration with other composers; see Table 1.1. Walther specifically cites Mattheson’s *Musikalischer Patriot* as the source for this information.

his *Musikalischer Patriot*, Mattheson lists Graupner, alongside such luminaries as Handel, Heinichen, Keiser, Stölzel, Telemann and Bach, as one of foremost composers of the new “theatrical” church piece.⁶³ Mattheson may, therefore, have known of Graupner’s cantatas only through their personal connection—they did not circulate widely enough to be known by Walther in Leipzig. Graupner also features briefly in Mattheson’s *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* (Hamburg, 1719; p. 142f), *Critica Musica* (Hamburg, 1722; p. 151), *Grosse General-Baß-Schule* (Hamburg, 1731; p. 167), *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739) and *Plus ultra* (Hamburg, 1755; p. 323). Mattheson’s most extensive treatment of Graupner is the autobiography printed in the *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), and discussed above.⁶⁴

Johann Adolph Scheibe, in his *Critischer Musicus* (vol. 1: Hamburg: Wiering, 1738; vol. 2: Hamburg: Beneke, 1740), also lists Graupner among the pantheon of great composers, alongside Hasse, Handel, Telemann, Bach, both Grauns and Stölzel.⁶⁵ Unlike Mattheson, however, Scheibe does not confine his praise to the church cantata. Instead, he writes that “all of these names were written with golden letters into the book [of eternity].”⁶⁶ Graupner’s fugal and canonic writing is discussed by

⁶³ Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 217f.

⁶⁴ The complete entry is given in Appendix A, beginning on page 230. This entry is the focus of Dahlhaus, “Christoph Graupner und das Formprinzip in Autobiographie.” In 1750 Graupner also writes a short autobiographic letter to a government official also named Graupner (possibly Martin Friedrich Graubner [*sic*]). This autobiographical sketch was unknown in the eighteenth century, and was only published in the 1980s, in Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 82–85.

⁶⁵ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musicus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), 340–41.

⁶⁶ In the second edition (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745), Scheibe lists the names alphabetically, to be clear that he is not ranking one above the other, and he adds Keiser’s name to the list (Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 207).

Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, in both parts of his *Abhandlung von der Fuge* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1753/54). Particularly noteworthy is Marpurg's description of Graupner's "galant manner of canonic composition."⁶⁷ It is also from Marpurg, in his *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* (vol. 3: Berlin: Lange, 1757) that we learn that Johann Friedrich Fasch studied briefly with Graupner.⁶⁸

Graupner's death in 1760 warranted a death notice in the Hamburg press.⁶⁹ Unlike many of the other contemporary mentions of Graupner, this notice specifically mentions his accomplishments in church music:

Seine tiefe Einsichten in alle Theile der musicalischen Gelehrsamkeit, und besonders seine Stärke in Kirchen-Sachen, darin er wohl schwerlich seines gleichen wird gehabt haben, versichern ihn eines immerwährenden Ruhms, so, wie die grosse[n] Eigenschaften seines Herzens, ihn bey allen, die ihn gekannt haben, in unvergeßlichem Andenken erhalten werden.⁷⁰

His deep insights into all parts of musical scholarship, and especially his strengths in church matters, in which he probably has had no equal, will assure him everlasting glory, just like the great qualities of his heart will be an unforgettable memento for all who knew him.

This notice also makes specific mention of Graupner's friendship with another composer who apprenticed at the Hamburg opera: George Frideric Handel. The author of the death notice writes: "Like his

⁶⁷ "in dieser galanten canonischen Schreibart" (Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 208). For more on the questions of style raised by this, see Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 257–78; for its connections with Bach, see Gregory Butler, "The *Galant* Style in J. S. Bach's *Musical Offering*: Widening the Dimensions," *BACH* 33, no. 1 (2002): 57–68.

⁶⁸ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 211. See also note 120.

⁶⁹ *Hamburger Relations-Courier* 86 (May 29, 1760): 3. This notice first came to the attention of musicologists in Neubacher, "Eine bislang unbeachtete Quelle zur Biographie und zum Todesdatum des Hessen-Darmstädtischen Hofkapellmeisters Christoph Graupner."

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

former friend Mr. Handel of London, he had also lost his eyesight a few years before his death, and, through two failed operations, the hope of ever regaining it."⁷¹

Manuscripts Consigned to the Flames: The 1781 Biography

The first significant biographical (as opposed to autobiographical) document concerning Graupner was published in the *Hoch-Fürstlich Hessen-Darmstädtischen Staats- und Adreß-Kalender auf das Jahr 1781*.⁷²

Though much of the basic biographical details discussed therein are present in the entry in Mattheson's *Grundlage*, it contains a number of new details about the composer's personality, suggesting it may have been written by someone close to him—perhaps even one of his children.⁷³ In discussing his character, the document first praises his productivity:

He was a man of spotless character. ... Through his industriousness he distinguished himself among all composers of his time and in accordance with the same the quantity of his music would certainly still be considerable even if he had worked less solidly and with more irregularity.⁷⁴

⁷¹ "Er hatte mit seinem ehemaligen Freunde, dem Hrn. Händel in London, gleiches Schicksal, daß er einige Jahre vor seinem Tode das Gesicht und überdieses durch eine mißlungene zweymalige Operation auch die Hoffnung verlohren, es jemals wieder zu erlangen." *ibid.*

⁷² Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 86–89; Oswald Bill, "Christoph Graupners Biographie aus dem Jahre 1781," *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 1 (December 2004): 3–18.

⁷³ Graupner and his wife had seven children (Wilibald Nagel, "Das Leben Christoph Graupners," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10, no. 4 [September 1909]: 586–87). The eldest son outlived his father by only a few months, and the fourth child died shortly after birth. The remaining five children, according to Nagel, were all alive in 1781, and would have been between 49 and 68 years old.

⁷⁴ "Er war ein Mann von unbescholtenem Character. ... Durch seine Arbeitsamkeit hat er sich vielleicht unter allen Tonkünstlern seiner Zeit ausgezeichnet und nach Masgabe derselben würde die Menge seiner Musikalien gewiß noch weit ansehnlicher seyn, wenn er minder solid und mit mehr Flüchtigkeit gearbeitet hätte." Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 87; all translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

Clearly, for this writer, the shift that was to occur in the nineteenth century, when a composer would be looked down upon for having written too much music, had not yet taken place.

However, our anonymous author is careful to distinguish his or her own praise from Graupner's own personality:

Sonst hatte er auch, wie man bey jedem grossen Manne schon zu vermuthen pflegt, seine Sonderbarkeiten; er wollte durchaus nicht zugeben, daß er gemahlt würde, und als man es während seiner Blindheit ohne sein Vorwissen thun wollte, ward er unwillig, als er es merkte; auch verlangte er vor seinem Tode, Daß man alle seine Musikalien verbrennen sollte, welcher Befehl aber freylich zum Besten der musikalischen Welt unbefolgt blieb. ... Er würde sich auch vielleicht gegenwärtige Biographie verbeten haben, wenn er sie vermuthet hätte, doch halten wir es nicht vor Pflicht der ein wenig übertriebenen [*sic*] Bescheidenheit eines verdienten Mannes hierinnen nachzugeben.⁷⁵

Otherwise, he had his eccentricities, like we suppose is the case for all great men; he would not permit a painting of himself to be made, and when they tried to do it without his knowledge after he went blind, he was very angry when he found out; he also demanded that before his death, all his musical works should be burnt, a command which, to the benefit of the musical world, remains unheeded. ... He would possibly not have tolerated the present biography, if he had suspected it, but we hold that we need not give in to the excessive modesty of [such] a worthy man.

Our correspondent paints a picture of a man so meek and humble that he would not permit picture of himself, or likely even a biography. It is in this context, I argue, that his wished-for destruction of his musical legacy should be seen. He sought to ensure that no trace be left of himself after his death.

One possible motivation might be religious—we see an echo of this very sentiment in Michael Franck's 1652 chorale text, "Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig", whose first stanza is a meditation on the impermanence of life itself (Table 1.2). The chorale continues through a total of thirteen stanzas,

⁷⁵ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 88.

beginning each time with the admonition, “Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig.” The ninth stanza perhaps most directly applies to Graupner’s directive. The message to the believer is that they should perform good works, but to avoid the sin of pride. Or, to put it another one, the Lutheran composer should concern himself with producing the best music possible, but not with what posterity will think of him. Even Graupner’s manuscripts show an abundance of care in their preparation, for Mattheson observed that his “scores are so beautifully written as to be comparable with an engraving.”⁷⁶

Table 1.2: Chorale, “Ach wie flüchtig,” Stanzas 1 and 9

| | Stanza 1 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ach wie flüchtig, | Oh how fleeting, |
| Ach wie nichtig | Oh how insubstantial |
| Ist der Menschen Leben! | Is the life of man |
| Wie ein Nebel bald entsteht | As a mist soon arises |
| Und auch wieder bald vergehet | And soon again vanishes |
| So ist unser Leben sehet. | Thus is our life. |
| | Stanza 9 |
| Ach wie flüchtig, | Oh how fleeting, |
| Ach wie nichtig | Oh how insubstantial |
| Ist der Menschen Tichten! | Are the works of man! |
| Der, so Kunst hat lieb gewonnen | One who has acquired a skill |
| Und manch schönes Werck ersonnen, | And many a beautiful work contrived, |
| Wird zu letzt vom Todt erronnen! | Is at last by death overtaken! |

In 1728, Graupner composed a cantata whose first movement sets the first three stanzas of this chorale (Figure 1.4). The music is a deeply evocative setting of the concept of insubstantiality in the face of eternity, alternating indecisively between a straight four-part setting of the chorale melody, and

⁷⁶ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), 481.

[1] Choral

Hautbois 1

Hautbois 2

Violino 1

Violino 2

Viola

Soprano

Ach wie nichtig, ach, ach wie nichtig,

Alto

Ach wie nichtig, ach, ach wie nichtig,

Tenore

Ach, ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig,

Basso

Ach, ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig,

Violone Organo

pp *f*

Figure 1.4: Graupner, *Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig*, GWV 1157/28, mvt. 1, mm. 1–6

punctuated imitative passages. Set against the incessant two sixteenths–eighth motive in the strings and winds, the message of the text is clearly presented. We can perhaps see a duality of the Lutheran faith in this setting: the believer knows that death will overtake him, but yet one must live as a reflection of divine glory.

The other implication of “Ach wie flüchtig” is resignation to God’s will. To the Lutheran mind, this would be seen as a positive trait, and no less than three separate times does Graupner invoke the hand

of God in his letter to Mattheson. The clearest evocation of divine providence is upon his arrival in Hamburg: having left Leipzig in a hurry, without any money or possessions, he just happens to arrive mere days after Schiefferdecker succeeded Buxtehude in Lübeck, vacating his position of continuo player at the Hamburg opera.⁷⁷

Graupner Studies

There is no mention of Graupner in the first edition of Ernst Ludwig Gerber's *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (1790–92), but he receives a lengthy entry in the second, expanded edition (1812–14). Gerber describes him as “one of the most pleasing and dearest composers of his time, especially in keyboard music.”⁷⁸ Gerber's reliance on Mattheson's *Grundlage* is clear, and it is specifically cited—the whole entry is, for the most part, a summary of Graupner's autobiography. Thus it is not surprising that church music is barely mentioned, for Graupner barely mentions it himself in that context. Graupner is discussed in articles of varying lengths in all of the major musical encyclopedias after Gerber. This list includes, chronologically, Fétis (1874), Riemann (1882), the first edition of *Grove's Dictionary* (1882) and every edition there after, Eitner (1901), *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1st ed., 1949; 2nd ed., 2001) and the *New Grove* (1980 and 2000). The first substantial piece of original

⁷⁷ For more on Graupner's arrival, and time, in Hamburg, including the apparent coincidental departure of Schiefferdecker, see page 181.

⁷⁸ “einer der gefälligsten und beliebtesten Komponisten seiner Zeit, besonders in Klaviersachen” (Ernst Ludwig Gerber, “Graupner, Christoph,” in *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* [Leipzig: Kühnel, 1812–14], 2:380).

scholarship, however, comes from the pen of Ernst Pasqué, a Darmstadt-based historian about whom little is known.⁷⁹ In 1853 and 1854, he published an extensive study, in serial form, in the little-known Darmstadt periodical *Die Muse*. All told, the book-length series of articles was published in thirty-nine separate parts. Entitled "Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Darmstadt," it is an exhaustive treatment of the subject right from the creation of Hessen-Darmstadt in 1567 until the death of Graupner. It is divided into seven chapters, one per landgrave, with Graupner getting his own, nearly as long as the five chapters devoted to the rulers before Ernst Ludwig. This article would form the basis for scholarship on music at the Darmstadt court for the next half century.

The next major development comes with the work of Wilibald Nagel, professor of musicology at the Technische Hochschule (now the Technische Universität) in Darmstadt. His article from 1900, "Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe von Darmstadt," as the title might suggest, relies heavily on Pasqué, with additional information and clarification.⁸⁰ His most substantial contribution to this literature is his lengthy biography of Graupner—it remains the single most detailed treatment of Graupner's biography, though it is now inaccurate and incomplete in many places.⁸¹ He followed this up with an article on and thematic catalogue of Graupner's symphonies.⁸² Also worthy of mention in this context

⁷⁹ Ernst Pasqué, "Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Darmstadt," *Die Muse (Darmstadt)* 1–2 (1853–1854): 1:36ff, 50ff, 83ff, 148ff, 244ff, 2:43ff, 156ff, 629ff.

⁸⁰ Wilibald Nagel, "Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe von Darmstadt," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 32, no. 3 (1900): 41–73.

⁸¹ Nagel, "Das Leben Christoph Graupners."

⁸² Wilibald Nagel, "Christoph Graupner als Sinfoniker," *Musikalisches Magazin* 49 (1912): 1–31.

are his articles on W. F. Bach and Gottfried Grünewald.⁸³

The most important Graupner scholar of the first half of the twentieth century was Friedrich Noack, Nagel’s successor at the Technische Hochschule. His focus on Graupner’s cantatas began early, with his 1914 dissertation, published two years later.⁸⁴ In 1926, for the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst* series, he published a collected edition of seventeen of Graupner’s cantatas, the first time any of his works in this genre had been published.⁸⁵ His comparison of Bach’s and Graupner’s settings of “Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut”—published shortly after Bach’s setting had been rediscovered—makes many important connections between these two composers.⁸⁶ Friedrich’s legacy was continued by his sister Elisabeth, an important scholar of Briegel, in her volume on the history of music at the Darmstadt court from the middle ages through 1800.⁸⁷

The Australian musicologist Andrew McCredie began his work on Graupner with a dissertation on north German opera in general.⁸⁸ He followed this up with a study on Graupner’s operas in particular,

⁸³ Wilibald Nagel, “W. F. Bach’s Berufung nach Darmstadt,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1, no. 2 (February 1900): 290–94; Nagel, “Gottfried Grünewald.”

⁸⁴ Noack, *Graupners Kirchenmusiken*.

⁸⁵ Christoph Graupner, *Ausgewählte Kantaten*, ed. Friedrich Noack, *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, 51–52 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926).

⁸⁶ Noack, “Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner.”

⁸⁷ Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*.

⁸⁸ Andrew D. McCredie, “Instrumentarium and instrumentation in the North German baroque opera.” (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 1964).

which was itself revised and expanded for publication in German.⁸⁹ McCredie was also the author of the article on Graupner for the *New Grove* (1980), and revised it for the second edition, which was subsequently made available online.⁹⁰

Oswald Bill, the long-time and only recently retired Darmstadt music librarian, is the most significant living Graupner scholar. His edited volume in 1987 was responsible for making available to the general scholar a vast trove of Graupner documents, previously unknown.⁹¹ It also contains important contributions from Peter Ansehl on the concertos, Joanna Cobb Biermann on the court musicians, Peter Cahn on the symphonies and Lothar Hoffman-Erbrecht on the keyboard works. Most recently, Bill has been actively working on the publication of a Graupner-Werke-Verzeichnis (GWV). The first volume, co-edited with Christoph Großpietsch, and covering all of the instrumental works, appeared in 2005.⁹² The first volume is based in part on the path-breaking work of Großpietsch himself, whose dissertation on the overtures and Tafelmusik was published in 1994.⁹³ The second volume of the GWV, the first of five devoted to the church cantatas, appeared six years later.⁹⁴ An draft complete listing of

⁸⁹ Andrew D. McCredie, "Christoph Graupner as Opera Composer," *Miscellanea Musicologica* 1 (1966): 74–116; Andrew D. McCredie, "Christoph Graupners Opern: Hintergründe, Textvorlagen und Musik," in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 269–302.

⁹⁰ McCredie, "Christoph Graupner as Opera Composer."

⁹¹ Oswald Bill, ed., *Christoph Graupner, Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760* (Mainz: Schott, 1987).

⁹² Bill and Großpietsch, *Christoph Graupner: thematisches Verzeichnis*.

⁹³ Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*.

⁹⁴ Oswald Bill, *Christoph Graupner: thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke: Graupner-Werke-Verzeichnis, GWV: Geistliche Vokalwerke: Kirchenkantaten 1. Advent bis 5. Sonntag nach Epiphanias* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2011).

the catalog numbers has been made available online by Florian Heyerick.⁹⁵

Ursula Kramer’s chapter on Darmstadt in a recent volume devoted to music at eighteenth-century German courts was the first English-language publication on this topic.⁹⁶ Her recent edited volume also includes many important contributions to the field of Graupner studies.⁹⁷ Kramer is also currently serving as the president of the Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft, which was founded on February 5, 2003. They publish a fairly small newsletter (*Mitteilungen*) every two years or so—since 2003, they have published seven volumes, the most recent in 2012. Though its membership remains small, it is internationally-focused and serves as an important sponsor of Graupner research.

There are four dissertations, all in English, written on the cantatas—by Henry Cutler Fall (1971), Vernon Wicker (1979), René Schmidt (1992) and John Patrick McCarty (2012). Fall’s dissertation is generally of a high quality, and focused specifically on the passion-tide cantatas, since Graupner did not compose large-scale passions.⁹⁸ Vernon Wicker’s DMA thesis is mostly occupied by an edition of selected cantatas, later published by Hänssler in 1981–83.⁹⁹ Wicker revised and expanded his work

⁹⁵ http://creator.zoho.com/floxoip/graupner_gwv/

⁹⁶ Kramer, “The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt.”

⁹⁷ Ursula Kramer, ed., *Musikalische Handlungsräume im Wandel: Christoph Graupner in Darmstadt zwischen Oper und Sinfonie* (Mainz: Schott, 2011). Kramer’s chapter in this volume is the German version of the previously mentioned article on the Darmstadt court.

⁹⁸ Henry Cutler Fall, “The Passion-Tide Cantatas of Christoph Graupner” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971).

⁹⁹ Vernon Wicker, “Solo Cantatas for Bass by Christoph Graupner” (DMA diss., University of Oregon, 1979).

for publication in German a few years later.¹⁰⁰ René Schmidt's dissertation focuses on the Christmas cantatas, but is not especially well organized. Furthermore, it is limited by the fact that it excludes secular cantatas: some of Graupner's most elaborate Christmastide works were for the birthday of Ernst Ludwig, Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, on December 26.¹⁰¹ His work is more interested in questions of orchestration than in discussion of the music and its contexts; the second volume of the dissertation consists of an edition of four cantatas. Most recently, John Patrick McCarty's DMA dissertation, like Wicker's before him, consists mostly of an edition, in this case three birthday cantatas for the landgrave, plus a short biography.¹⁰²

To date, roughly sixty cantatas by Graupner have been published and several publishers are making a renewed effort to make the cantatas available to a wider audience.¹⁰³ According to the online GWV tool, forty-one cantatas have been recorded to date.

¹⁰⁰ Vernon Wicker, "Die Kirchenkantaten Christoph Graupners," in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 331–382.

¹⁰¹ Schmidt, "Christmas Cantatas."

¹⁰² John Patrick McCarty, "A Conductor's Analysis: The Birthday Cantatas of Christoph Graupner (1683–1760)" (PhD diss., James Madison University, 2012).

¹⁰³ Hänssler and Carus, both located in Stuttgart, are notable in this regard, but I might add also the work of Brian Clark at his own publishing firm, Prima la Musica in Dundee, Scotland, which has to date published 14 cantatas, as well as 5 concertos, 42 keyboard suites, 55 orchestral suites and 10 sinfonias.

Excursus: J. S. Bach

At this point in the chapter, I will shift to a figure that is in many ways Graupner's opposite: J. S. Bach.

Whereas Graupner is virtually unknown today, Bach is praised as the greatest composer of all time.¹⁰⁴

While Graupner wrote a vast number of cantatas, with regularity, for over forty years, Bach was engaged in the project of cantata composition with regularity for only about five years. By contrasting these two figures, I believe we can learn a great deal not only about the liturgical cantata and its composition in the eighteenth-century, but also about music historiography.

The legacy of the anachronistic, historicist Bach was scathingly critiqued by Theodor Adorno in 1951. Bach, he observes, has been turned into "ideology." "[Bach's] influence ... no longer results from the musical substance of his music," writes Adorno "but rather from its style and play from formula and symmetry, from the mere gesture of recognition."¹⁰⁵ In the French Overture, BWV 831, Adorno sees elements of Viennese Classicism; in the G-sharp minor fugue, BWV 887 from book two of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, he sees elements of Beethoven and even Chopin.¹⁰⁶ Yet however ruthless

Adorno's critique, it fell largely on deaf ears. Writing in 1985, the next big "Bach year," Susan McClary

¹⁰⁴ Anthony Tommasini, critic for the *New York Times*, provides a striking example of this deification in the popular press. See Anthony Tommasini, "Top Ten Composers: Johann Sebastian Bach," *New York Times* video, 7:08, April 10, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/01/07/arts/music/20110107-top-ten-composers.html> and Anthony Tommasini, "The Greatest," *The New York Times*, January 21, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/23/arts/music/23composers.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Theodor W. Adorno, "Bach Defended Against His Devotees," in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber NicholSEN (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 135–36.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

believed that "Adorno's insights have had negligible impact on musicology or on the common reception of Bach."¹⁰⁷ Attempting to heed Adorno's call to situate Bach in his historical context, she was "told outright by prominent scholars that Bach (unlike 'second-rate' composers such as Telemann) had *nothing* to do with his time or place, that he was 'divinely inspired,' that his music works in accordance with perfect, universal order and truth."¹⁰⁸

The question I will explore in this chapter is a provocative one: why Bach, and not Graupner? How is it that the baroque style itself has become to be defined as embodied in the works of Bach, that we teach compositional precepts using his chorales and fugues, that we laud him as the greatest composer? Is it purely the result of historical accident, or coincidence? Or rather does it have to do with some innate characteristic of the music itself? Some hard-to-define, if not indefinable notion of quality, greatness or genius? This chapter, then, is really about value, about how we rank composers and their works.

Bach: Culmination

The paradigm of "Bach as culminator of embryonic musical forms" is hardly unique to recent scholarship. Steven Crist shows that "this paradigm has persisted in unbroken succession for 100 years; it has

¹⁰⁷ Susan McClary, "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics during Bach Year," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14.

¹⁰⁸ McClary, "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics during Bach Year," 14, emphasis original.

survived two world wars and numerous other disruptions, and it has unselfconsciously crossed national boundaries."¹⁰⁹ A clear evocation of what Crist calls "Bach chauvinism" can be found in C. Hubert H.

Parry's Bach biography from 1909:

Though up to [Bach's] time art of the kinds which came into being in the seventeenth century had been almost universally immature, and though, of more than a century of manifold creative effort, *hardly any work remains to the world which has not to be taken with some qualification and allowance for its immaturity*, [Bach] gathered into his grasp so completely all the methods and experiments which had been devised in different quarters and in divers countries, and so welded them by the consistent power of his artistic personality, that *the traces of their origin are forgotten*... At the end of the seventeenth century things were more or less in a *state of preparation*; the appliances were ready in plenty, but they needed the gathering together and systematisation—the comprehension which only a man gifted with the highest faculties and perception of the widest range can command.¹¹⁰

In other words, Parry implies that the music of Bach's predecessors is not even worth hearing or studying, at least not without significant caveats. Why have something raw, when, with Bach, you can have the finished product? Indeed, the origins of the 'models' are effaced: no longer can one distinguish between the French, the Italian and the German in Bach, all have melded together. James Webster has noted that the traditional bifurcation of the eighteenth century ignores all west of the Rhine [i.e., France] and south of the Danube [i.e., Italy].¹¹¹ In Parry's historiography, it is not so much ignored as subsumed: Italian and French music is taught by teaching the music of Bach alone.

¹⁰⁹ Stephen A. Crist, "Beyond 'Bach-Centrism': Historiographic Perspectives on Johann Sebastian Bach and Seventeenth-Century Music," *College Music Symposium* 33/34 (1993): 58.

¹¹⁰ C. Hubert H. Parry, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), 19, 23; quoted in Crist, "Beyond 'Bach-Centrism,'" 59 (My emphasis).

¹¹¹ James Webster, "The Eighteenth Century as a Music-Historical Period?," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 1, no. 1 (2004): 53.

In the words of Gotthold Frotscher, Bach's significance is found in his ability to create a synthesis that "over and above the shaping of a personal style symbolizes the union and culmination of the forces of his age and of days gone by."¹¹² In other words, we might say that Bach's importance lies in transcending the individual (selfish?) style characteristic of his contemporaries toward an impersonal cultural universal, unmarred by the traces of its creator.

Rhetoric of this type as it relates to the cantatas can be found in the *New Bach Reader*:

In all of [Bach's works] he brought seeds well germinated by his predecessors to fruition on a scale undreamed of before him. And thus without any break with the past—in fact, as the great conservator of its legacies—Bach took what had been handed down to him and treated it with a boldness that often seemed almost revolutionary.

He took the cantata of Buxtehude and Kuhnau, for example, which had been a comparatively small genre, and amplified it in some instances almost beyond recognition by the introduction of patterns and forms that had grown up in the Italian opera: the recitative with figured-bass accompaniment or with obbligato instruments, and the *da capo* aria. He also evolved a scheme for his cantatas that was largely new, though composed of old elements. In this scheme the text of the cantata was based on one of the fine old Lutheran hymns. One of the stanzas was presented complete and unchanged in the first movement, in the form of a great and elaborate chorale setting; another was sung in a straight four-part setting at the end. In between, there came other stanzas, some perhaps unchanged, some paraphrased by the writer, some using the chorale melody either in the vocal parts or in the orchestra, some made into recitatives and arias on completely original material.¹¹³

Perhaps it is often the case in writing history that we tend to see its course culminate in the object of our devotion. The *New Bach Reader* does not even consider that Bach might have been aware of the

¹¹² Gotthold Frotscher, *Geschichte des Orgelspiels und der Orgelkomposition* (Berlin: Hesse, 1935–36), 2:850; translated in Crist, "Beyond 'Bach-Centrism,'" 59.

¹¹³ David, Mendel, and Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, 14–15; the identical language is found in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds., *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), 30–31.

works of his contemporaries, let alone that he may have been influenced by them. David and Mendel also give sole credit for the “introduction of patterns and forms that had grown up in the Italian opera” to Bach, whereas it might in fact be more reasonable to credit this to librettists, especially Erdmann Neumeister.

Christoph Wolff is considerably more circumspect in his recounting of Bach’s adoption of the new German liturgical cantata style.¹¹⁴ He gives full credit to Neumeister for the creation of the new form, and the resulting incorporation of Italianate musical styles into church music. He writes that “the poetically driven decision to accept the recitative-aria form immediately revolutionized the style of church music, which was now closely and lastingly tied to the world of opera.”¹¹⁵ Bringing the discussion around to Bach, Wolff continues: “All of Bach’s pre-Weimar ‘cantatas’ adhere to that form [i.e., multi-sectional church pieces lacking any formal design], probably because it was not until Weimar that he was given a chance to set madrigalistic poetry to music.”¹¹⁶ The use of scare quotes around “cantata” here points up the seismic shift between the pre-Neumeister church piece and the later developments. In the second half of this chapter, I will extend this view further, speculating that it was not just that Bach had madrigalistic poetry made available to him for the first time in Weimar, but that Graupner’s work could have provided musical inspiration.

¹¹⁴ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 160–61.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 160–61.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 161.

The view of Bach as Culminator has had its critics, notably Friedrich Blume, who in 1968 wrote that Bach "never felt that he was the 'consummator' of 'forerunners' . . . In his youth he had fitted himself into the endless chain of masters before him, became himself a link in this chain and so remained up to the very end; a musician among musicians."¹¹⁷ Crist agrees, citing, among other things, the obituary, C. P. E. Bach's letter to Forkel and J. S. Bach's role in preparing the *Alt-Bachisches Archiv*, before stating that "it is obvious that Bach did not view himself as the perfecter of imperfect inherited traditions."¹¹⁸ But nevertheless, as we have already seen, this view persists.

Bach: Transmission

After Bach's death, the city of Leipzig did not assert any ownership claim to his music, and it moved to the possession of his heirs, principally to his second wife, Anna Magdalena, and his two eldest sons, Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel.¹¹⁹ While Graupner had only one student, Johann Friedrich Fasch,¹²⁰ Bach had so many that Ludwig Finscher was able to write that "obviously, much

¹¹⁷ Friedrich Blume, "J. S. Bach's Youth," *The Musical Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1968): 30; quoted in Crist, "Beyond 'Bach-Centrism,'" 61.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹¹⁹ On the transmission of J. S. Bach's works in general, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Peters, 1984), on Anna Magdalena and the performing materials that were sold to the Thomasschule, see Andreas Glöckner, "Die Teilung des Bachschen Musikaliennachlasses und die Thomana-Stimmen," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 80 (1994): 41–57.

¹²⁰ Fasch reports in his autobiography that he visited Darmstadt for roughly fourteen weeks in 1714 and studied with both Graupner and Grünewald. For more on Fasch's connection with Darmstadt, see Brian Clark, "Johann Friedrich Fasch and the Sinfonia in Zerbst," in Kramer, *Musikalische Handlungsräume im Wandel*, 319–20.

of the transmission of Bach's works depends on the simple fact that Bach had an unusual number of extremely gifted and energetic pupils, including his sons, and that most of these pupils became church musicians and organists like their teacher."¹²¹ Yet, he continued, only small groups of musicians and writers in Leipzig and Berlin, and a "larger but scattered group of church musicians in central Germany" remained aware of Bach's music. "After 1759," wrote Finscher, "no one in England, Germany or Italy seems to have had a reasonably accurate or comprehensive view of either [Bach or Handel], or even a reasonably comprehensive knowledge of their works."¹²² While Finscher's version of events may be somewhat exaggerated, it is clear that much of the important transmission of Bach's music resulted from close, personal connections between musicians, rather than a result of wide-spread knowledge and understanding of Bach's music, and this persisted even into the nineteenth century.

Two examples are indicative of a larger trend. First, a direct line lines from Johann Adam Hiller, the second person to hold the position of Thomaskantor after Bach, to Christian Gottlob Neefe, who was proud to have raised Beethoven in Bonn on a steady diet of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, so much so that he took to broadcasting this. A separate line can be traced from the Berlin-based Bach cult, centered around Anna Amalia, to Baron Gottfried van Swieten, Austrian ambassador to Prussia. It was van Swieten who brought back copies of Bach, principally fugues, to Vienna, where Mozart would

¹²¹ Ludwig Finscher, "Bach in the Eighteenth Century," in *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 287.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 295.

encounter them in the private performances and discussions held in van Swieten's house.¹²³

So, in Finscher's words, Bach "was forgotten by the general public and the amateur, and his fame rested more and more on professional qualities: 'learnedness,' counterpoint and Harmony."¹²⁴ Yet is it fair to say that it was ever known by the general public and the amateur? Neither Bach, nor most of his German contemporaries, really worked in what we now think of as the public sphere. The majority of their music was composed for a specific occasion, at the wishes of their patron. Even in the Leipzig Thomaskirche and Nikolaikirche, as Tanya Kevorkian has shown, one did not simply walk in and listen to a Bach cantata.¹²⁵ Rather, the pews were rented, and passed down within families. Even in a city as (relatively) free as Leipzig, there was still a clear separation between the music for the wealthy (Bach cantatas) and for the less so (motets by choirs that could barely carry a tune).

It is, then, not true to say that Bach's music dropped out of the repertory—rather, it was never in it at all. Very little of it was published in his lifetime: if a musician, unconnected with the Bach circles, had wanted to perform a cantata in 1780, they would have had little chance of obtaining the music, if they had even known of its existence.

¹²³ For more on the connection between Mozart and Bach, and the link with van Swieten, see Matthew Dirst, *Engaging Bach: The Keyboard Legacy from Marburg to Mendelssohn* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). As Dirst notes, the complete *Well-Tempered Clavier*, for instance, was not published until ca. 1801.

¹²⁴ Finscher, "Bach in the Eighteenth Century," 295.

¹²⁵ Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Tanya Kevorkian, "The Reception of the Cantata During Leipzig Church Services, 1700–1750," *Early Music* 30, no. 1 (February 2002): 27–46.

Though it is difficult to trace the materials in the collection of Friedemann, Emanuel kept meticulous records, which were likely the basis for the 1790 auction catalogue of his estate.¹²⁶ This document lists no fewer than 160 works by his father, the majority of which are cantatas. While they were in his possession, Emanuel seems to have made a special effort to care for these works, preparing new folders (*Titelumschläge*) for many of them, which listed the titles and performance forces. However, that Emanuel Bach's estate would even come up for auction speaks to the fact that even his father's music, never mind his own, was hardly seen as a cultural treasure.¹²⁷ Gradually, over the next hundred or so years, the music from Emanuel's collection makes its way through the libraries of private collectors, principally people like Georg Poelchau and J. J. H. Westphal, through the Berlin Sing-Akademie, to the Prussian Royal Library, now the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, where 90% or more of all Bach sources can be found today.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Rachel W. Wade, ed., *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schiebes, Hamburg, 1790* (New York: Garland, 1981).

¹²⁷ This contrasts with the conception of Graupner's works by the early nineteenth century, as articulated by the heirs to Ludwig I; see page 24.

¹²⁸ The foundational study of the transmission of J. S. Bach's works in the eighteenth century is Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Peters, 1984). There were several auctions of C. P. E. Bach's estate for which published catalogs were prepared, in 1789, 1790 (the so-called *Nachlass-Verzeichnis*, for more see page 49) and 1805. On the auctions themselves, see Ulrich Leisinger, "Die 'Bachsche Auction' von 1789," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 77 (1991): 97–126 and Elias N. Kulukundis, "Die Versteigerung von C. P. E. Bachs musikalischem Nachlaß im Jahre 1805," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 81 (1995): 145–76.

The Lutheran Cantata

By the first half of the eighteenth century, the cantata was the central genre of Lutheran church music.

Many of the histories of the genre begin with the foregone conclusion of its culmination in Bach.¹²⁹

This necessarily means that any music that comes before ends up being discussed as a precursor and any music that comes after seems to fall short.¹³⁰ The cantata, in fact, is almost always discussed in exactly these terms. One further consequence of this is that any contemporary of Bach is thoroughly outshone, no matter what regard their contemporaries may have held them in. It is my hope that this dissertation will make some initial steps toward setting aside this misleading approach.

In the eighteenth century, there was a considerable degree of terminological imprecision around what we now call the cantata. The contemporary terminology for liturgical pieces was nearly as varied as the repertoire itself: they were called variously "Kirchenstück" (or simply "Stück"), "Kirchenmusik," "Musikalische Andacht," "Concerto," "Motetto," "Dialogo" or "Actus." In 1723, for the first Sunday of Advent, Bach wrote up an order of the service, listing all the musical and non-musical events. In this

¹²⁹ Friedhelm Krummacher's articles in both the *New Grove* and *MGG* articles say exactly this within the first few sentences (Friedhelm Krummacher, "Cantata, §II: The German cantata to 1800," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 10, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04748pg2>; Friedhelm Krummacher, "Kantate, IV. Deutschland," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil*, 4:1731–73).

¹³⁰ For instance: "There is unanimity of opinion that Protestant church music after Bach declined in comparison to the achievements of earlier days. The essential truth of this statement cannot be doubted" (Georg Feder, "Decline and Restoration," in *Protestant Church Music: A History*, ed. Friedrich Blume [New York: W. W. Norton, 1974], 319) Feder provides no citations or evidence for either statement. This observation is also made in Stephen Rose, "Lutheran Church Music," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 127.

list, the cantata (*Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*, BWV 61) is listed as the ninth item: “Preluding on [and performance of] the principal music [i.e., the cantata]” (“Prälud. auf die Hauptmusic”).¹³¹ On the other hand, when Graupner gives a genre designation at all, it is invariably “Cantata” or “Cantate.”¹³² For example, in *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*, GWV 1147/11, Graupner clearly writes “Cantata” (in Latin script) on the autograph title page (D-DS Mus. ms. 419/12) preceding the textual incipit (Figure 1.5). On the surface, these two works are very similar, both are new-style Lutheran liturgical cantatas, consisting of recitatives and arias—the text for BWV 61 is even by Erdmann Neumeister. That one composer uses “cantata” and the other does not should not be taken as a generic characteristic, but rather a marker of regional or individual practice.

Friedhelm Krummacher states that the first time the word “cantata” (or rather, “Kantate”) was applied to Bach’s music was by the Bach-Gesellschaft in their first published volume in 1851, containing BWV 1 through 10.¹³³ However, it seems that this is not the case; at the very least, it was used in

¹³¹ David, Mendel, and Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, 113–14, which gives a translation and facsimile.

¹³² Graupner specifies “Cantata” on the title wrappers of 39 works. Of these, 33 are clustered in the years 1709–12, only 6 cantatas thereafter up to 1720, and from then on, Graupner no longer uses “Cantata” on title wrappers. Typically the formulation is “Cantata a Voce Sola,” and therefore it is not surprising that 36 of the 39 are for solo voice (26 for soprano, 10 for bass). (For more on the dominance of solo cantatas in the early years at Darmstadt, see page 83.) Yet the remaining three have multiple vocal parts extant; in the case of *Liebster Gott vergißst du mich*, GWV 1148/11 the scoring is quite elaborate, with 3 ripieno alto parts, and 2 each ripieno parts for soprano, tenor and bass.

¹³³ This information is given in the first paragraph of both the *New Grove* and *MGG* articles. To give just one example of its influence, a recent dissertation repeats this information, though without citing Krummacher (Stephen Sturk, “Development of the German Protestant Cantata from 1648 to 1722” [DMA diss., North Dakota State University, 2009]).

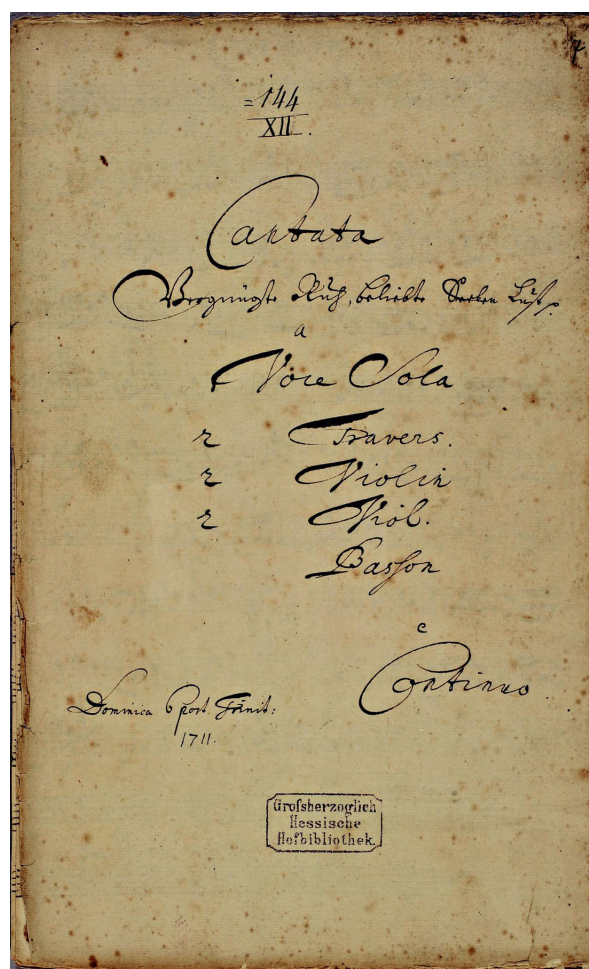


Figure 1.5: Graupner, *Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust*, GWV 1147/11, autograph title wrapper

C. P. E. Bach's *Nachlass-Verzeichnis* (Hamburg: Schniebes, 1790).¹³⁴ Specifically, the word was often used as a genre designator for J. S. Bach's own works in his son's possession.¹³⁵ In fact, it was used with exactly the same degree of imprecision today: it referred both to large and small works, sacred

¹³⁴ An annotated facsimile of the *Nachlass-Verzeichnis* (NV1790) is available as Wade, *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate* and a transcription is online at <http://cpebach.org/cpeb/pdfs/resources/NV-1790.pdf>.

¹³⁵ To give two examples, the NV1790 lists BWV 71 ("Cantate: Gott ist mein König etc. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Flöten, Hoboen und Basson. Eigenhändige Partitur, und auch theils in gedruckten und theils in geschriebenen Stimmen.") and BWV 199 ("Discant-Cantate: Mein Herze schwimmt in Blut etc. Mit 1 Hoboe. Eigenhändige Partitur, und auch in Stimmen.").

and secular, new and old, Italian, French and German. It is unlikely, I think, that C. P. E. Bach's was the first such use of the word, but at the very least, it is noteworthy that this happens sixty-one years earlier than Krummacher has maintained. Does Krummacher's desire to separate Bach from the term "cantata" presage an ambivalence toward the secular roots of the genre? The implications of this will be explored more fully in chapter 5.

History

The prominence of sacred music in eighteenth-century Lutheranism can be traced directly to Martin Luther's own attitudes toward music. He believed that the Gospel texts should be actively proclaimed, and saw in music an effective means to achieve this end. In the same way that the sermon performs the function of biblical exegesis rhetorically, Luther believed that music could have this effect.¹³⁶ Through the treatment of the text, the composer could emphasize different words and ideas. The performance of a cantata occupied the place in the Lutheran service that was formerly occupied by the Gospel motet, a musical piece that served to enhance the reading of the Gospel.¹³⁷ This motet typically highlighted one or more of the central verses of the Gospel for that day. In the later seventeenth century, this motet was

¹³⁶ Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach: With Their Librettos in German-English Parallel Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3. For an excellent study on Luther's attitudes toward music, and their consequences, see Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2007).

¹³⁷ Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 255.

replaced by a concertato motet with aria and chorale supplements and after 1700 this was gradually replaced by the cantata.

The most significant figure in the German cantata text was the theologian-poet Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756), who introduced Italian-style madrigal poetry to Germany in 1700.¹³⁸ It was he who initiated the developments that resulted in the cantata’s function as a “musical sermon.” As a result, cantata texts were structurally derived from the Lutheran sermon, including the *explicatio* and *applicatio* sections (biblical exegesis followed by practical and moral advice). It was in Neumeister’s libretti that he began to introduce Italian forms to his now so-called “cantatas.” In his earliest libretti, he typically alternated only between recitatives in arias. This this was the type of libretto used by Graupner in his eleven settings of Neumeister texts.¹³⁹ A new, mixed type of cantata text, which incorporated biblical dicta and strophic hymns alongside recitatives and arias was introduced in an anonymous publication of 1704, possibly by Duke Ludwig Ernst of Saxe-Meiningen, and set to music by Johann Ludwig Bach.¹⁴⁰ This same form was then adopted by Neumeister in his later publications, as well as by Georg Christian Lehms, the Darmstadt court poet.

¹³⁸ Neumeister’s *Poetische Früchte der Lippen in Geistlichen Arien, über alle Sonn-, Fest- und Apostel-Tage* was published for Weissenfels in 1700. *Geistliche Cantaten* (Halle, 1705) followed a few years later. For more on Neumeister, see Chapter 5.

¹³⁹ Marc-Roderich Pfau, “Erdmann Neumeister als Kantatendichter Graupners: Elf Texte in den frühen Kantaten entdeckt,” *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 4 (2007): 29–30.

¹⁴⁰ Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 161.

The Cantatas of J. S. Bach

In any discussion of the German church cantata, a detailed consideration of the work of J. S. Bach is unavoidable. However, as discussed above, the standard narrative, wherein Bach is the culmination of all past compositional activity, implicitly (or even explicitly) devalues the work of earlier generations. Too often the limited understanding of cantata composition in the first decade of the eighteenth century leads scholars to see Bach as the originator of particular vocal forms. However, as we can see in countless examples from Bach's oeuvre, he responds to the demands of the text.¹⁴¹ The standard Bach catalogue lists roughly 200 cantatas composed by Bach in his lifetime, but again, we encounter the terminological ambiguity discussed above. I argue that his first half dozen or so, including, for example, BWV 4, 161 and 71, are not really cantatas in the modern, post-Neumeister sense. It is only in 1714, when Bach begins his regular composition of cantatas for the Weimar court, that he adopts the new, madrigalian form.

Only when Bach began his term as *Cantor* in Leipzig in the summer of 1723 did the production of cantatas become his primary focus. In his first cycle for Leipzig, he wrote forty new works in almost as many weeks. He kept up this pace for his first four years, writing a total of 150 new works.¹⁴² At this point, however, his cantata productivity dropped precipitously, virtually ceasing by 1735—the number

¹⁴¹ Including, for example, BWV 199, discussed below, beginning on page 60.

¹⁴² Robert Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography," *The Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 497.

of "new" (for all are based on pre-existing models) works for the church service composed in the last 15 years of Bach's Leipzig tenure can be counted on one hand.¹⁴³ In 1962, Friedrich Blume called on Bach scholarship to build on this information as part of a new conception of the composer.¹⁴⁴ Still, in 2000, Robert Marshall was able to repeat this call, in an article written in response to Christoph Wolff's new biography—firmly held notions of Bach have proved deeply difficult to dislodge.¹⁴⁵ Christoph Wolff responds, albeit obliquely, to Marshall's article, but does not grant the legitimacy of his challenge. He writes that "[t]he research results from that time have long since been accepted, corroborated, and continue to be further refined. Hence, there is no obligation for me to address, let alone reshape this side of the Bach picture."¹⁴⁶ As I read this, however, his second sentence does not follow from his first: the new chronology has been "accepted," therefore "there is no obligation for [him] to address [it]"? This is not to say that I believe Bach's move away from cantata production is a problem, but rather that it was a substantial shift. The contrast is even stronger when he is compared with his contemporaries: as we know, Graupner wrote over 1,400 cantatas, and Fasch and Stölzel wrote nearly 1,000 each, with

¹⁴³ Bach's last cantata is believed to be BWV 14, *Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit*, from Epiphany 4, 1735. The "new" works after that are all derived from earlier sources: BWV 30 (1736, based on the earlier 30a [ca. 1735]), BWV 200 (ca. 1742, based on a work by Stölzel), BWV 191 (ca. 1743–46, extracted from the Mass in B minor [1733]), BWV 34 (ca. 1746–1747, derived from BWV 34a [ca. 1726]). See Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 113ff.

¹⁴⁴ Friedrich Blume, "Umriss eines neuen Bach-Bildes," *Musica* 16 (1962): 169–72; translated into English as Friedrich Blume, "Outlines of a new picture of Bach," *Music and Letters* 44 (1963): 214–27.

¹⁴⁵ Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography."

¹⁴⁶ Christoph Wolff, "Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship," *The Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 4 (Fall 2005): 506.

Telemann writing as many as 1,900. Given the paucity of documentary evidence on Bach's 'self-image,' the question may well be unanswerable.¹⁴⁷

Cantata Literature

Earlier in this chapter, I wrote that the standard trope in the cantata literature is that it reached its culmination with J. S. Bach. To choose just one example, Friedhelm Krummacher begins his *Grove* article on the cantata by saying that the cantata is "the form of Protestant church music that reached its highest point of development and attainment in the cantatas of Bach." I should emphasize that I mean no criticism of this body of works, which are at the highest level. Nevertheless, attention must be drawn to the (perhaps unintentional) side-effects. As I see it, there are three main issues: 1) composers before Bach are often only discussed as evolutionary pit stops on the way to the master; 2) contemporaries are outshone, and often receive scant, if any, coverage; 3) the era following Bach is invariably cast as one of decline.¹⁴⁸

There have been no fewer than six full books on J. S. Bach's cantatas, which work through each piece in varying levels of detail.¹⁴⁹ The literature is saturated to the point that Daniel Melamed and

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 511ff.

¹⁴⁸ On this last point, see note 130 above.

¹⁴⁹ W. Gilles Whittaker, *The Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach: Sacred and Secular* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959); Alec Robertson, *The Church Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (New York: Praeger, 1972); Stephen Daw, *The music of Johann Sebastian Bach: the choral works* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981); W. Murray Young, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach: An Analytical Guide* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland, 1989); Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*; Gilles Cantagrel, *Les cantates de J.-S. Bach: textes, traductions, commentaires* (Paris: Fayard, 2010). Cantagrel's book alone is nearly 1,700 pages.

Michael Marissen, in their annotated Bach bibliography, completely dismiss all works other than the one by Alfred Dürr.¹⁵⁰ There have been recent detailed studies of individual works; the figure of Eric Chafe stands out especially in this regard. In two recent monographs, Chafe has developed "tonal allegory" as an interpretational framework for the vocal works of Bach.¹⁵¹ In the latter book, Chafe vehemently argues that his system is grounded in historical fact and Lutheran teaching, constructing an incredibly elaborate "hermeneutical matrix," based heavily on the writing of Andreas Werckmeister. Luther however expressly maintained that allegory was merely an ornamental device, to entertain rather than convince the listener: "Allegories do not provide solid proofs in theology; but, like pictures, they adorn and illustrate a subject."¹⁵² In order to get around this, Chafe must return to the late-medieval scholastic theologians, who divided Biblical interpretation into four categories: literal, allegorical, tropological (moral) and anagogical (eschatological).¹⁵³ Chafe argues that "within Luther's hermeneutics ... the medieval four senses were not so much rejected as they were reoriented according

Julian Mincham's recently-created website <http://www.jsbachcantatas.com/> performs a similar function—freed from the word count limitations of a paper book, it would likely reach 1,500 pages if printed.

¹⁵⁰ Daniel Melamed and Michael Marissen, *An Introduction to Bach Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 115. They say specifically "it is difficult to recommend any of the [English-language] surveys of Bach's cantatas"; Dürr had not yet been translated.

¹⁵¹ Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); *Analyzing Bach Cantatas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). In 2010, Chafe received an AMS subvention for a book entitled *J. S. Bach's Johannine Theology: The St. John Passion and the Cantatas for Spring 1725*, from Oxford University Press, though the volume has yet to be published.

¹⁵² Luther, *In Epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas*, 262. Trans. by Jaroslav Pelikan. Quoted in Rebecca Lloyd, "Bach among the Conservatives: the Quest for Theological Truth" (PhD diss., King's College London, 2006), 110.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 110; Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas*, 5–6. Chafe most thoroughly argues this position in his second chapter, "The Lutheran 'Metaphysical' Tradition", pp. 23–41.

to the dialectical relationship of Law and Gospel and the analogy of faith."¹⁵⁴

However, Rebecca Lloyd has argued that this is patently false; she quotes Luther, who utterly rejected the medieval four levels:

Therefore the Jerusalem that is above, that is, the heavenly Jerusalem, is the church here in time. It is not, by anagoge, our fatherland in the life to come or the church triumphant, as the idle and unlettered monks and scholastic doctors imagined. They taught that there are four senses of Scripture—the literal, the tropological, the allegorical, and the anagogical—and by means of these they misinterpreted almost every word of Scripture. Thus, according to them, Jerusalem literally signified the city of that name; tropologically, a pure conscience; allegorically, the church militant; and anagogically, our heavenly fatherland or the church triumphant. With these awkward and foolish fables they tore Scripture apart into many meanings and robbed themselves of the ability to give sure instruction to human consciences.¹⁵⁵

Thus it is only by conflating the medieval scholastic teaching with nineteenth-century hermeneutics that Chafe can in any way justify his interpretation. It is perhaps ironic to note that, in my view, Chafe does the same thing with Bach's music that, in Luther's view, scholastics did with the Bible, namely, misinterpreting the subject for their own ends. Chafe must create his own version of Luther, largely through selective misreading, misinterpretation and reliance on twentieth-century theologians, most significantly Karl Holl.¹⁵⁶

I do not wish to suggest that interpretive analysis of Bach's music ought not to be performed, but

¹⁵⁴ Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas*, 5.

¹⁵⁵ My emphasis. Luther, *In Epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas*, trans. Jaroslav Pelikan, as quoted in Lloyd, "Bach among the Conservatives," 111.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 114–15. Lloyd says of Holl: "Perhaps [his] most idiosyncratic hermeneutic device was to ignore or contradict many of Luther's own autobiographical statements."

rather than it not be offered as objective fact, intended by the composer himself. The gap between Luther's time and Bach's is nearly as great as the gap between Bach's time and ours, and accordingly the existence of the direct connections relied on by so many Bach theologians is doubtful. Lloyd puts it well when she notes that "rather than understanding the relationship between music and theology as historically relative, Bach theologians—and, to a lesser extent, those writers influenced by them—search for an essential and unchanging theology in Bach."¹⁵⁷ The Bach theologians argue that the path to understanding Bach's music lies only through understanding his theology. Lothar and Renate Steiger admit that their agenda goes beyond simply understanding Bach when they say that studying the theology of Bach's time will "help renew the theology and piety of our time."¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, in these analyses, it is often implied that Bach had a compositional method not seen before or since, whereby whenever he set pen to paper, he could not help but communicate theological truths. Surely if this were the case, these methods could be applied to other composers, if only Bach's temporal and geographic contemporaries.

In Bettina Varwig's work we can, I think, see a new and more effective direction.¹⁵⁹ Rather than rely on the writings of sixteenth-century theorists to explain eighteenth-century music to twenty-first-century audiences, she attempts, through an impressive command of contemporary Leipzig repertoire,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 25.

¹⁵⁸ Lothar Steiger and Renate Steiger, "*Sehet! Wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem*": *Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten auf den Sonntag Estomihi* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 23.

¹⁵⁹ Bettina Varwig, "Death and Life in J. S. Bach's Cantata *Ich habe genug* (BWV 82)," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (November 2010): 315–56.

to demonstrate how Bach's audience would have understood his music. She notes that there are "difficulties in shifting the issue of meaning from an 'immanent' to a reception-based model, without seeing it dissipate into a myriad of virtually untraceable responses from contemporary listeners, whose individual identities and reactions are all but lost to us now." However, she continues that "by seeking to reconstruct the contemporary perceptions and norms of a historically positioned intersubjective listening community, we can nonetheless begin to define a plausible 'space' within which such meanings were constituted and negotiated."¹⁶⁰ In her test piece, *Ich habe genug* BWV 82, she shows how the musical topic of sleep was 'in the air' at the time, through the (mostly operatic) works of Heinichen, Telemann, and others, and how Bach thus joined musical and textual metaphor in the communication of a Lutheran belief. She demonstrates, through citations of books in circulation in Leipzig, that eighteenth-century Lutherans often understood the death of a believer as a "peaceful sleep."¹⁶¹

In the past few decades, there has been renewed interest in the sacred cantatas of Bach's contemporaries. As Barbara Reul's dissertation on the cantatas of Johann Friedrich Fasch shows, Fasch composed at least eight (ca. 560 works), and possibly as many as thirteen complete cycles (ca. 910), however only 100 or so individual works now survive.¹⁶² Along with Fasch, besides Graupner, two other composers

¹⁶⁰ Varwig, "Death and Life in J. S. Bach's Cantata *Ich habe genug* (BWV 82)," 319.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 320–21.

¹⁶² Barbara Reul, "The Sacred Cantatas of Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688–1758)" (PhD diss., University of Victoria, Canada, 1996). Though writing later, Krummacher (*Grove*, *MGG*) must be relying on old information when he reports that only 70 works survive. See *ibid.*, 1. Furthermore, Reul discusses the recent discovery of important Fasch sources; there may yet be more works currently misplaced in German libraries.

from this time were prominent composers of cantatas: Georg Philipp Telemann, cantor at Hamburg and Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, cantor at Gotha. Stölzel has been discussed in a recent book by Christian Ahrens, which, while covering eighteenth-century Gotha generally, devotes significant space to this composer.¹⁶³ Of his roughly 800 total compositions, over 400 survive, and they have been catalogued, albeit roughly, by Fritz Hennenberg.¹⁶⁴ Finally, it is perhaps a bit surprising to note that Telemann's cantatas have not received significant coverage in the recent literature, though his instrumental works have. Of his roughly 1,700 cantatas, around 1,400 survive, however the Bärenreiter edition has opted not to publish the full oeuvre. Practically, this makes perfect sense, given the vast amount of music, but nevertheless it is a shame that we are not likely to see even a significant amount of this music in print in the near future.

We have seen, in the preceding review, that the literature on the Lutheran liturgical cantata overwhelmingly focuses on J. S. Bach. However, this has begun to change recently, with a focus on the seventeenth-century repertory considered on its own merits, rather than as a mere precursor.¹⁶⁵ Likewise, as highlighted above, contemporaries of Bach have gradually come to be considered worthy in their own right. This is not to claim that Bach's music is unworthy of study (and, has been shown, exciting new things continue to happen) but rather to say that in many ways, his work is not typical of

¹⁶³ Ahrens, "Zu Gotha ist eine gute Kapelle—," 47–57 and passim.

¹⁶⁴ Fritz Hennenberg, *Das Kantatenschaffen von Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel* (Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1976).

¹⁶⁵ Geoffrey Webber, *North German Church Music in the Age of Buxtehude* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

the genre, and was not widely known outside a fairly small circle.¹⁶⁶

Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut

In 1711, the Darmstadt court poet Georg Christian Lehms published a double cycle of cantata texts entitled *Gottgefälliges Kirchenjahr* (Figure 1.6). Progressing through the entire Lutheran church year, the volume provides two texts for each day: one for a smaller morning devotion, and one for a larger afternoon devotion. One such text, for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, beginning "Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut," was set first by Christoph Graupner and later by J. S. Bach.¹⁶⁷ These two works present an especially fair comparison. The two cantatas were written within a year or two of each other: Graupner's is dated 1712, and source evidence suggests that Bach's was performed in 1714, though possibly written as early as 1713.¹⁶⁸ The two composers were both in the early stages of their careers: Graupner had only been composing cantatas for three years, and Bach was just starting regular cantata composition. Finally, the two composers were roughly the same age, from similar parts of Germany, and had received similar kinds of musical education.

¹⁶⁶ Fasch, on the other hand, as Reul has highlighted, continued to have his cantatas circulate in print after his death.

¹⁶⁷ The complete cantata is transcribed in Appendix B, beginning on page 261. A note on orthography: in the Lehms publication, the cantata begins "Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut"; Graupner writes "Mein Herz schwimmt **in** Blut"; and Bach writes "Mein **Herze** schwimmt im Blut."

¹⁶⁸ Andrew Talle has also recently compared Bach and Graupner's settings of "Vernügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust," another Lehms text. In that case however, while Graupner's setting is from the same early cycle as "Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut," and was first performed in 1711, Bach's setting dates from 1726. See Talle, "Bach, Graupner, and the Rest of Their Contented Contemporaries."

Discussing Spitta's earlier comparisons of Bach's and Telemann's settings of the same text, Noack writes:

While for Spitta, Telemann stood far behind Bach because his church works are usually written quickly and make too many concessions to current fashions, we will see that Graupner, as a serious aspiring artist full of deep sensitivity and independent character, can well claim to stand alongside Bach.¹⁶⁹

My point, however, differs from Noack's. I am not arguing that Graupner should stand alongside Bach in a notional canon of masterworks. Rather, I am more interested in a non-hierarchical network, whose connections can tell us more about the world of setting eighteenth-century religious texts to music.

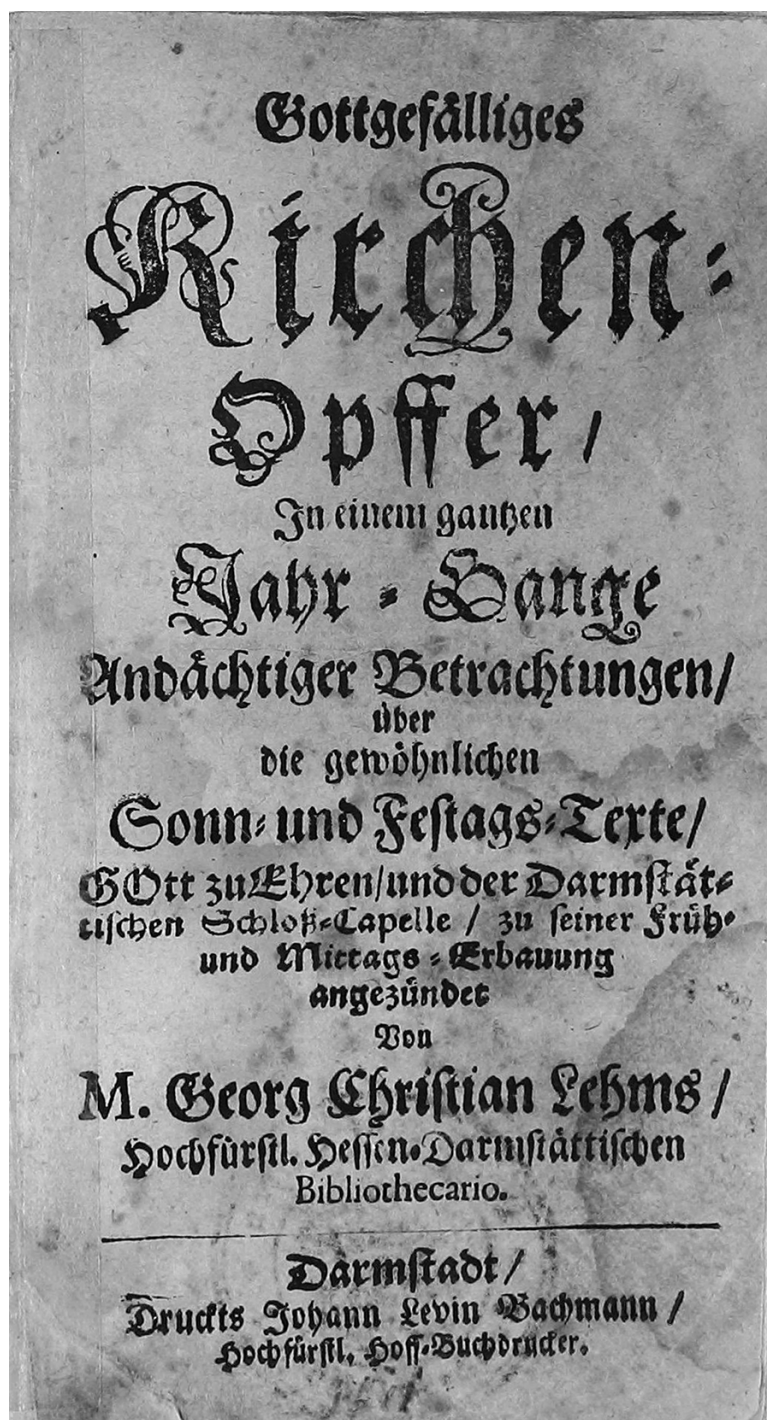
The two settings have a great deal in common. The similarities extend beyond the most obvious fact that both are for solo soprano, but even that they both make this choice is noteworthy. Alfred Dürr, writing on Bach's setting, writes that "evidently no choir was at Bach's disposal, even for a plain chorale movement, or else he dispensed with it deliberately in order to create a pure 'cantata'."¹⁷⁰ However, elsewhere in the same volume, Dürr writes that the cycle of Lehms texts was "probably conceived mainly for solo voice."¹⁷¹ Likely this statement is based on the work of Elisabeth Noack, who makes a similar statement at the beginning of her article on Lehms.¹⁷² However, neither provides any specific

¹⁶⁹ "Während bei Spitta Telemann weit hinter Bach zurücksteht, da seine Kirchenwerke meist flüchtig geschrieben sind und allzu viel Zugeständnisse an den modischen Zeitgeschmack machen, werden wir sehen, daß Graupner als ernst strebender Künstler voll Empfindungstiefe und selbständigem Gepräge wohl Anspruch auf Interesse erheben kann selbst neben Bach." Noack, "Johann Sebastian Bach und Christoph Graupner," 85.

¹⁷⁰ Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 492.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁷² Elisabeth Noack, "Georg Christian Lehms, ein Textdichter Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 56 (1970): 7–18.

Figure 1.6: G. C. Lehms, *Gottgefälliges Kirchen-Opffer* (Darmstadt: Bachmann, 1711), title page

evidence for this assertion. The preface of the volume does not indicate a particular scoring, and when Graupner and Bach set other texts from the same volume, they often employ a four-part choir.

The two settings also have nearly the same instrumentation. Graupner’s differs from Bach’s in that he calls for two obbligato oboes whereas Bach has only one; both composers also use strings and continuo.¹⁷³ Since there is only one singer, this precludes the presence of choral movements, and thus it is not surprising to find that both composers follow the libretto’s directions for movement types, each writing three arias (one with embedded recitative), four recitatives and one chorale. For the recitatives themselves, however, only the first is *accompagnato* for both composers—Bach sets the third and seventh movements as accompanied recitatives as well, but Graupner sets all three of the remaining recitatives as secco (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Bach and Graupner movement structure compared

| Mvt | Type | Bach | Type | Graupner |
|-----|------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| | | Key | | Key |
| 1 | Accomp | C min | Accomp | C min (ends on V) |
| 2 | Aria + Recit | C min | Aria + Recit | C min |
| 3 | Accomp | F maj → B-flat maj | Recit | G min → B-flat maj |
| 4 | Aria | E-flat maj | Aria | E-flat maj |
| 5 | Recit | G min | Recit | G min |
| 6 | Chorale ¹⁷⁴ | F maj | Choral | G min |

¹⁷³ This applies only to Bach’s original 1714 version. He reperformed this work at least four times, rescoring at least one movement in each case. See also Tatjana Schabalina, “Ein weiteres Autograph Johann Sebastian Bachs in Rußland: Neues zur Entstehungsgeschichte der verschiedenen Fassungen von BWV 199,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 90 (2004): 11–39, which describes yet another version, in which an obbligato violin replaces the oboe.

¹⁷⁴ Dürr gives the designation of this movement as “Corale” (Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 491), but in the autograph score (p. 7), Bach writes “Chorale con Viola obligata”.

| | | | | |
|---|---------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| 7 | Accomp | B-flat maj | Recit | B-flat maj |
| 8 | Aria | B-flat maj | Aria | B-flat maj |

Both first movements evidence almost uncanny parallels. Both composers begin with a pedal C3 in the continuo, accompanied by sustained chords in the strings. (This effect is familiar as the “halo of strings” accompanying Jesus’s words in Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion*, BWV 244.) Furthermore, both begin off the beat on a G4 in the soprano (see Figures 1.7 and 1.8). In addition to this type of similarity, another type of similarity might be explained as a kind of eighteenth-century musical grammar. For example, both composers feature a similarly jagged setting of the text “Verhaßte Lasternacht” (‘hated night of vice’), and invoke a similarly jarring dissonance on “Ach, unerhörter Schmerz!” (‘oh unheard-of pain’). Though one might easily explain such occurrences as simply reflecting the text in the music, I would argue that the fact that both composers react in similar ways is noteworthy.

I will offer here a more speculative, even imaginative, reading of history. Lehms’s second published book of cantata texts makes specific reference to its circulation across Germany, and this has often been read as referring to Bach’s ownership of a copy in particular.¹⁷⁵ We might then imagine that Lehms sent him a copy. But how would Lehms, the Darmstadt court poet know Bach?¹⁷⁶ Maybe it is more likely to think that Graupner sent him a copy? And perhaps he even enclosed an example of one of

¹⁷⁵ Noack, “Georg Christian Lehms, ein Textdichter Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 8.

¹⁷⁶ While Lehms was part of the same “Leipzig Friendship Circle” (Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 177–82) as Graupner, there is no documented personal connection between Lehms and Bach.

[1] *Recitativo Accompagnato*

Violino 1

Violino 2

Viola

Soprano

Bassono Continuo

Mein Hertz schwimmt in Blut, weil mich der Sün - den Bruth von Got-tes heil-gen Au-gen zum Un-ge-heu-er

Figure 1.7: Graupner, *Mein Herz schwimmt in Blut*, GWV 1152/12b, mvt. 1, mm. 1–5

his own settings, maybe this one, “Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut”? During his time in Weimar, Bach sets only two texts from the Lehms collection, this one, and one other, “Widerstehe doch der Sünde,” BWV 54.¹⁷⁷

I realize, of course, that my evidence is circumstantial at best, but the similarities are, I think, too much to dismiss as mere coincidence. This was, as we know, a watershed moment in Bach’s career, a shift into regular cantata composition, and a marked departure from the style of his earlier cantatas like the *Actus tragicus*, BWV 106. Perhaps it was Graupner’s inspiration that, at least in part, caused this shift?

On the other hand, the second movements, other than both being arias (as dictated by the libretto),

¹⁷⁷ The Weimar court also had an excellent library, and it is possible that they obtained a copy of Lehms’s volume. However, the fact that Bach set eight more texts from this collection later, in 1725–26, suggests that it was in his personal collection. One of these texts, “Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust,” was set by both composers. See Talle, “Bach, Graupner, and the Rest of Their Contented Contemporaries.”

1. Recitativo

Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Soprano
Fagotto
Violoncello
Violone
Organo

Mein Her - ze schwimmt im Blut, weil mich der
Sün - den Brut in Got - tes heil - gen Au - gen zum Un - ge - heu - er macht; und mein Ge -

Figure 1.8: Bach, *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, BWV 199, mvt. 1, mm. 1–5

could not be more different. Graupner's setting begins without any semblance of a ritornello (Figure 1.9), and the vocal part is almost obsessively involved with the repeated dotted quarter–eighth–quarter–quarter rhythm (Figure 1.10). An eighteenth-century listener would likely have made the connection with the “Stumme” (‘Silent’) of the title: indeed, the rests in the instrumental parts are almost louder, in a way, than the sounding notes. In the third measure, the voice enters on a longer melody, contrasting strongly with the punctuated eighths in the accompaniment. By the ninth measure, Graupner has

completed the first section of text. The B section of the aria begins with a direct modulation into E-flat major, and concludes with an inserted recitative section, again specified by Lehms in the libretto.

I might even go so far as to suggest that in this movement, we see a manifestation of Graupner's own aesthetics. Like Bach, we don't have much surviving writing by Graupner, but in 1728, he was in charge of the preparation of the new Darmstadt *Choral-Buch*, which includes a short preface.¹⁷⁸ In it, he not only discusses his views on chorale setting, but also on music in general, including cantatas. He says that the composer has a particular responsibility to take particular care when setting liturgical texts, so as not to diminish the liturgy. He goes on:

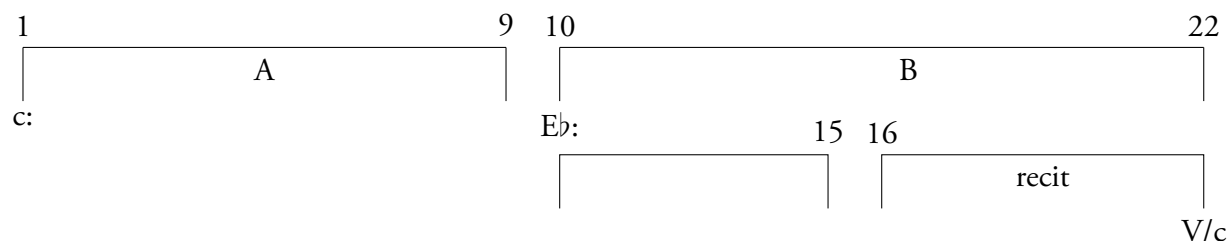
Edifying words of a song have a more profound expression in the mind, when music brings the meaning and expression of the text alive through carefully considered and selected expressions. This is the foremost concern in every composition in which a particular text is prescribed.¹⁷⁹

He concludes this section by saying that in music, particularly in recitatives, the composer must reflect the grammatical sense of the text.

Bach's setting, meanwhile, begins not only with a ritornello, but a fairly lengthy one, as can be seen in the formal diagram in Figure 1.11. As Stephen Crist tells us, "an opening ritornello is present in all but a handful of [Bach arias]: fewer than three percent [lack one], and all of them in forms other than

¹⁷⁸ Christoph Graupner, *Neu vermehrtes Darmstädtisches Choral-Buch* (Darmstadt, 1728). See Appendix A, beginning on page 245, for a complete transcription of the preface.

¹⁷⁹ "Erbauliche Worte eines Gesangs, haben einen desto tiefern Eindruck in die Gemüther, wo mit wohl bedachten und ausgesuchten Expressionen, der Sinn und Nachdruck des Textes, durch die Music gleichsam lebendig vorgestellt wird; Und ist dieses bey jeder Composition, da ein gewisser Text und Worte vorgeschrieben sind, das vornehmste." Graupner, *Darmstädtisches Choral-Buch*, unpaginated preface.

Figure 1.9: Graupner, *Mein Herz schwimmt in Blut*, GWV 1152/12b, mvt. 2, Formal Diagram

[2] Aria

Figure 1.10: Graupner, *Mein Herz schwimmt in Blut*, GWV 1152/12b, mvt. 2, mm. 1–5

the da capo.”¹⁸⁰ After a seven measure ritornello, the soprano enters (m. 8) with a motto not derived from the oboe’s musical material (Figure 1.12). In m. 11, after a paraphrased repeat of the ritornello epilogue, the aria “restarts”: the musical material is identical to the beginning of the movement, but with the voice added. The relationship between the apparently ‘new’ musical material of the voice, and that which has come before, is thus made clear when the two melodies are contrapuntally intertwined.

¹⁸⁰ Stephen A. Crist, “J. S. Bach and the conventions of the da capo aria, or, How original was Bach?,” *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995: Selected proceedings* 1 (1995): 73.

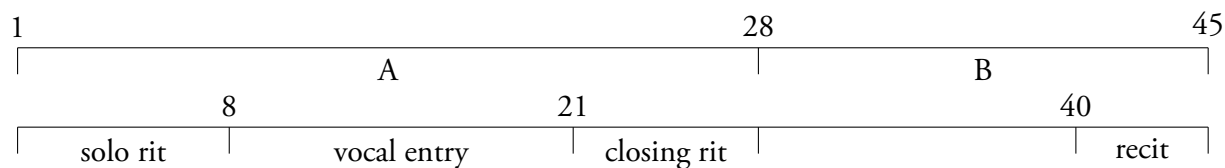


Figure 1.11: BWV 199/2 Formal Diagram

6 8 9

Stum-me Seuf-zer, stil-le

Kla-gen, stum-me Seuf-zer, stil-le

Figure 1.12: Bach, *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, BWV 199, mvt. 2, mm. 6–11

Fortspinnung-type elaboration follows until m. 21, when we again hear an exact repeat of the opening (but off by two beats, though this is inaudible). In real time, this is nearly four times longer than Graupner took to reach this point in the text, namely the conclusion of the first two lines. The B section begins with a gradual slide into B-flat major, contrasting with Graupner's abrupt shift into E-flat major—the recitative insertion concludes the section.

From the perspective of the modern listener, we are perhaps apt to prefer Bach's setting, as it fits with

our own notions of the baroque: complex counterpoint, motivic economy, and so on. But can these notions be separated from Bach's music, as that is often the exemplar of the baroque style shown us in our first music history classes? In some ways, Bach's setting is not an aria, but rather a chamber trio of sorts: the voice is treated as merely another instrument alongside the oboe and continuo. Rather than the text-forward setting given by Graupner, Bach's is one dominated by compositional artifice: imitative, motivic interplay, and so forth. Mattheson had even criticized another Weimar cantata, "Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis," BWV 21 for the extensive text repetition necessary for this kind of instrumentality.¹⁸¹

Today, I think, Bach's style and the German baroque liturgical cantata have become inseparable. Since the Graupner setting sounds strange, even repetitive or tedious, but in the context of an eighteenth-century church service, I argue it would be much more effective, so it should be no surprise to us he would be so highly ranked by his contemporaries, both critics and the Leipzig town council: his cantatas, as Mattheson said, exemplified the genre.¹⁸²

Indeed this realization might even force us to reconsider the implications of the famous (or infamous) Scheibe-Birnbaum dispute, in which the nascent critic Johann Adolph Scheibe criticized Bach's music for what he perceived as an excess of artifice, even turgidity and bombast.¹⁸³ This remark, from

¹⁸¹ Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds., *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1685–1750: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), no. 200.

¹⁸² Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 218.

¹⁸³ For translated excerpts of the most relevant documents, see David, Mendel, and Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, 337–53. Recent work has considerably broadened our understanding of Scheibe's original article, both through providing the first complete translation of the entire piece, not just the comments directed at Bach, and through identifying the

1737, has often been taken as a turning point in music history, marking the decline of the baroque and the rise of the 'galant' or 'rococo.' But what if instead Scheibe had in mind music like Graupner's, a composer of exactly Bach's generation, for his cantatas embody exactly the virtues Scheibe prized. As discussed above, Scheibe included Graupner among those composers whose names were inscribed in the "book of eternity."¹⁸⁴ Rather than a petty and petulant student, we could instead see an insightful and perceptive critic, whose stylistic preferences aligned with patrons like the Landgrave Ernst Ludwig and the Leipzig Town Council.

By way of conclusion, it is worth speculating further on whether Bach had knowledge of Graupner's cantata, and if it influenced him. While there is as yet no proof that Bach had copies of Graupner's music in his possession, the two were undoubtedly familiar with each other, at least later. On May 4, 1723, Graupner wrote to the Leipzig council to say that Bach was "a musician just as strong on the organ as he is expert in church works and Capelle pieces," who "will honestly and properly perform the functions entrusted to him."¹⁸⁵ While this letter dates from nearly a decade after the composition of these two cantatas, two musicians may have already been in contact. How else would Graupner know that Bach was "expert in church works" if he had not seen his Weimar cantatas, perhaps BWV

other composers mentioned. See Michael Maul, "Bach versus Scheibe: Hitherto Unknown Battlegrounds in a Famous Conflict," in Talle, *J. S. Bach and His German Contemporaries*, 120–144.

¹⁸⁴ Alongside Bach, incidentally; see Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, 341.

¹⁸⁵ David, Mendel, and Wolff, *The New Bach Reader*, 103.

199 among them? We do know, for instance, that copies of several Bach keyboard works were made in Darmstadt during Graupner's tenure.¹⁸⁶ We have the integrity of the Darmstadt collection to thank for such discoveries, but a similar situation does not pertain in Leipzig. It is certainly possible that future research could discover copies of Graupner's music in the hand of a Bach copyist, perhaps Bach himself, in the same way that recent scholarship has uncovered connections between Bach and Stölzel.¹⁸⁷

We might, then, imagine the following situation. Until 1713, Bach had been composing old-fashioned church music, like BWV 4 and 106. In March 1714, however, Bach's promotion to concert-master in Weimar required a monthly cantata from him. We might imagine that he wrote to Graupner, asking for advice, and Graupner replied with a copy of Lehms's *Gottgefälliges Kirchenjahr*, and enclosing as well a copy of his own setting of *Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut*. Bach would then set this same text in August of that year, and another text from the collection, *Widerstehe doch der Sünde*, in March of the following year. While this chain of events is entirely speculative, it is not at all far-fetched. Indeed, knowing that musicians at this time regularly communicated and exchanged music, it is easier to imagine that Bach might make such a request than that he would not.

Regardless of whether such an exchange took place, Graupner was not a composer toiling away in

¹⁸⁶ Andrew Talle, "Nürnberg, Darmstadt, Köthen: Neuerkenntnisse zur Bach-Überlieferung in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 89 (2003): 147–55.

¹⁸⁷ Marc-Roderich Pfau, "Ein unbekanntes Leipziger Kantatentextheft aus dem Jahr 1735: Neues zum Thema Bach und Stölzel," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 94 (2008): 99–122; Peter Wollny, "'Bekennen will ich seinen Namen'—Authentizität, Bestimmung und Kontext der Arie BWV 200: Anmerkungen zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Rezeption von Werken Gottfried Heinrich Stölzels," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 94 (2008): 123–58; Andreas Glöckner, "Ein weiterer Kantatenjahrgang Gottfried Heinrich Stölzels in Bachs Aufführungsrepertoire?," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 95 (2009): 95–116.

isolation at some provincial court. Instead, he was someone ranked at the very height of his field, among his best known contemporaries. Even the court was one of the foremost musical centers in Germany, particularly in the first two decades of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Both Johann Adolph Scheibe and Johann Mattheson list Graupner in their pantheon of great German composers, alongside Handel, Telemann and Bach. Yet a broader canon is necessary but not sufficient.

In this chapter, we have seen that the reception of Graupner and his music is very closely tied up with the reception of Bach's works. Furthermore, Bach's music has ended up as virtually inseparable from the notion of the German baroque, to the point where non-conformity with the norms and conventions of his music can diminish the status of a work. Yet, as I have shown, a network-based approach allows us to move beyond a hierarchical ordering of history, and instead to one that gives us a more accurate view through the emergent properties of the network itself. Graupner is thereby revealed in his true role as one of the pioneers of the Lutheran liturgical cantata.

¹⁸⁸ Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 24.

Chapter 2

Performance Practice: Vocal

Christoph Graupner's over 1,400 cantatas represent a vast source of information about performance practice in Darmstadt, and indeed Germany, in the first half of the eighteenth century. Though there has been limited consideration of some of the larger issues by Noack, the lack of a complete catalog of the sources has hindered this work. In this chapter, I draw on a database of my own construction, derived from newly available data sources, to explore this music, and the extant materials, with more depth than has previously been possible.¹ For this chapter, the first of two on performance practice issues,

¹ The source data for the database are drawn from Florian Heyerick's online version of the Graupner-Werke-Verzeichnis (GWV) and from the online version of RISM (<http://www.graupner-digital.org/gwv.php>; <http://opac.rism.info/> [accessed March 10, 2014]). The GWV catalogue was exported to Comma-Separated-Value (CSV) and then processed using a custom Python tool. This tool cleans the data, and splits the movements into a separate table, processing their scoring into a format that more easily allows searching and comparisons. The RISM data were downloaded using a custom Python tool which first downloaded the entire list of works where the composer was set to 'Graupner' and the genre was set to 'Cantata'. The processor then followed the links into the individual item pages, where it downloaded the correct scoring information and the list of extant source materials, both scores and parts. This

I will focus on issues of vocal scoring.² In particular, I explore the relationship between Graupner's available singers and the extant vocal parts, showing how the two are closely related, and how therefore we can learn a great deal about the day-to-day vocal performance practice of the cantatas.

Performance Circumstances

The contemporary printed text booklets for the cantatas make it clear that the primary performance venue for the performance of Graupner's cantatas was the Darmstadt Schlosskirche.³ The Schlosskirche was integrated into the Residenz itself; Figure 2.1 marks the location of the building containing the Schlosskirche with a "D."⁴ The Schlosskirche itself was fairly small, and relatively narrow, with two galleries running the length of the space. As Figure 2.2 shows, the church itself was the northern-most subset of the so-called "Kirchenbau." Consulting the scale on the larger figure (not shown here), we

information is derived in turn from the Darmstadt library's card catalogue. In most of the digitized sources, the original card itself is also scanned and posted. For the present purposes, I have analyzed only the 1,414 sacred cantatas listed in the draft GWV; furthermore, discussions of original source materials address only those located in the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek at the Technische Universität, Darmstadt (D-DS), which accounts for 99% of the autograph source materials.

² Chapter 4, which deals with instrumental issues, begins on page 132.

³ The published titles for all of the text booklets that were known before World War II are given in Friedrich Noack, *Christoph Graupner als Kirchenkomponist: Ausführungen zu Band LI/LII der Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, erste Folge, und Verzeichnis sämtlicher Kantaten Graupners*, ed. Hans Joachim Moser, Beihefte zu den Denkmälern deutscher Tonkunst 1 (1926; Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1960), 9–13; Noack's list is the basis for the expanded one given in Oswald Bill, *Christoph Graupner: thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke: Graupner-Werke-Verzeichnis, GWV: Geistliche Vokalwerke: Kirchenkantaten 1. Advent bis 5. Sonntag nach Epiphania* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2011), xi–xx.

⁴ The shaded portion of the diagram indicates the expansion under the direction of Louis Remy de la Fosse after 1715. A large fire seriously damaged the castle on May 19, 1715, and it was de la Fosse who was called in to take advantage of this opportunity for a redesign. His initial plan would have completely demolished the old castle, replacing it with one in the latest baroque fashion. However, lack of funds prevented this, and so only the southwestern wing was actually constructed. De la Fosse also redesigned several superficial features of the building, including a new Schlossportal.

see that the space would have been roughly eighteen meters long by seven meters wide; the space was two storeys tall.⁵ Two photographs from 1910, before the space was destroyed in World War II, give a sense of the proportions (Figure 2.3). It should be noted, however, that the interior of the space was renovated several times between Graupner's era and the taking of these photographs and that the 1711 Vater organ was removed in 1878.⁶ The organ that Graupner would have known was, in any case, located in the same place: in the gallery above the chancel and the altar. It is likely that the musicians and singers who performed the cantatas would have been located nearby the organ.

The Landgrave himself would have sat at the same height as the organ, on the opposite end of the chapel. Yet a considerable number of services, especially in Graupner's later years, must have taken place without the presence of the Landgrave. Christoph Großpietsch notes that Ludwig VIII, who assumed the throne in 1739, attended services at his pleasure castles (Lustschlösser), and only came into Darmstadt on high feast days.⁸ Yet this same time period coincides with Graupner's most productive phase of cantata composition. Clearly the devotional service at the Schlosskapelle was conducted as

⁵ Ludwig Weyland, "Geschichte des Großherzoglichen Residenzschlosses zu Darmstadt," *Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde* 11, no. 3 (1867): Plan A.

⁶ Vernon Wicker, "Die Kirchenkantaten Christoph Graupners," in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 378; the new organ was the Opus 350 by Walcker (René Schmidt, "The Christmas Cantatas of Christoph Graupner (1683–1760)" [PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1992], 29).

⁷ Drawing after OpenStreetMap outline (<http://openstreetmap.org>, accessed July 15, 2014). Location names after Weyland, "Geschichte des Großherzoglichen Residenzschlosses zu Darmstadt."

⁸ Christoph Großpietsch, "45 Jahre neue 'Kirchen-Music': Anmerkungen zu Graupners Kantaten und ihrem Kontext," *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 4 (2007): 10.

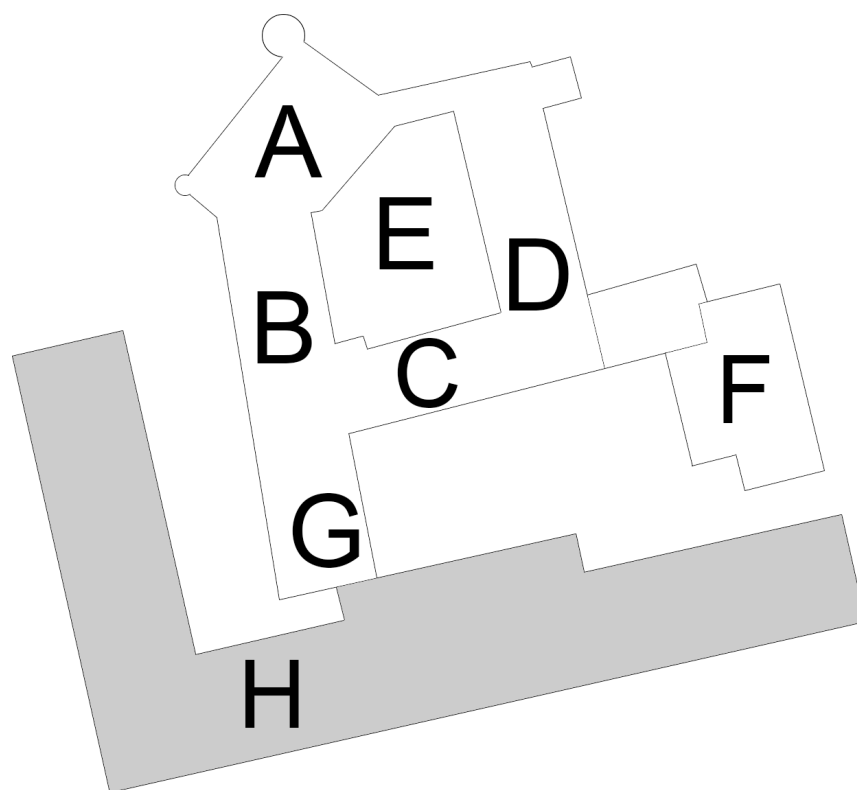


Figure 2.1: Layout of the Darmstadt Residenzschloss, mid-eighteenth century. A = Herrenbau; B = Weißer Saalbau; C = Kaisersaalbau; D = Kirchenbau; E = Kirchenhof; F = Glockenbau; G = Prinz-Christian-Bau; H = Eighteenth-century addition.⁷

usual, regardless of the Landgrave's presence. This, Großpietsch argues, indicates a decline in the absolute focus of courtly culture on the ruler. Alternatively, it could indicate an increased secularization of courtly culture: Ludwig VIII appears to have been more interested in other courtly activities, indeed, the cultural activities so patronized by his father appear to be unimportant to the son.

Großpietsch writes that the cantatas were composed for the Landgrave himself and for his courtly entourage.⁹ Yet in at least one case, the published *Texte zur Musik* tells interested parties where they can

⁹ Großpietsch, "45 Jahre neue 'Kirchen-Music,'" 9.

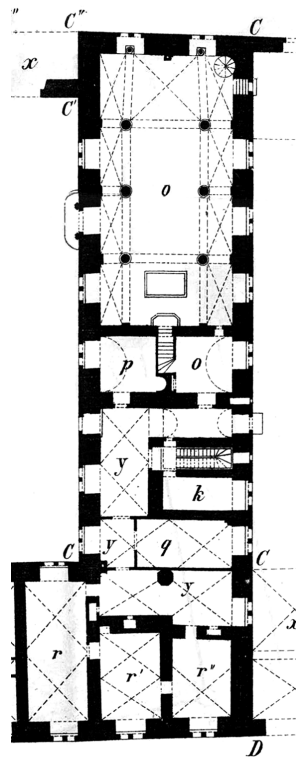


Figure 2.2: The “Kirchenbau” of the Darmstadt Residenzschloss. The chapel itself, at the top of the figure, is labeled “O” (detail from Weyland, “Geschichte des Großherzoglichen Residenzschlosses zu Darmstadt,” Plan A).



Figure 2.3: Darmstadt Schlosskirche (ca. 1910) (Photographs from the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Darmstadt)

purchase future installments:

NB. Dem geneigten Leser dienet zur Nachricht / daß die *Continuation* dieser *Musicalischen Texte*, ist von Viertel Jahr zu Viertel Jahr bey dem allhiesigen Buchbinder / Johann John / wohnhafft neben dem Engel / zu bekommen.¹⁰

NB. This notice serves to alert the reader that future volumes of these musical texts are available from quarter to quarter at the local book binder, Johann John, who resides next to the angel.

This suggests that while the court was the primary focus and audience for the cantatas, the attendance at the weekly service may well have been much broader, extending into Darmstadt upper classes. The fact that the cantata performances continued unabated even when the Landgrave was largely absent provides additional support for this. That the text booklets were intended specifically for the edification of the congregation is confirmed in a preface to one such booklet by Lehms himself. He writes that, in addition to deepening his appreciation, the reader can also “strengthen his devotion through reading along” with the cantata texts.¹¹ To this end, the booklets were printed at the expense of the court in fairly large quantities: for 1712, there were 130 copies printed.¹²

¹⁰ Georg Christian Lehms, *Texte zur Music, wie solche in der Hochfürstl Schloß-Kirche zu Darmstadt vom Neuen Jahr 1714. bis künfftige Ostern sollen musiciret werden. Erster Theil*. (Darmstadt: Johann Levin Bachmann, 1714), 19v.

¹¹ “auch itzo noch seine Andacht durch deren Mitleusung stärcken könne.” Georg Christian Lehms, *Das singende Lob Gottes In Einem Jahr-Gange Andächtiger und Gottgefälliger Kirch-Music* (Darmstadt: Johann Levin Bachmann, 1712), 13.

¹² Christoph Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken: Studien zur Darmstädter Hofmusik und thematischer Katalog* (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 26.

The Singers

Perhaps the most significant recent debate in the performance practice of eighteenth-century German vocal music concerns the number of singers per part in the original performances of cantatas, particularly those by J. S. Bach.¹³ For Graupner in Darmstadt, however, things are reasonably clear. As Guido Erdmann has shown, from 1709 until 1723, the Darmstadt Kapelle employed a series of Italian altos who had trouble with German pronunciation.¹⁴ In order to assist them, the text in the alto parts was written in Latin script instead of German script. As well, the German words were phonetically respelled (e.g., “Verdamtes” as “ferdamtes”; “Schönstes” as “Schenstes”; etc.). While this does not absolutely preclude other parts having been shared, it does strongly argue in favor of at least these alto parts being prepared with a specific singer in mind.

Out of Graupner’s 1,414 cantatas, there are only 28 that do not have extant performing parts. Of the 1,386 that remain, only one of these, *Mach es aus, geliebter Jesus*, GWV 1166/12b, a solo cantata for bass, does not have any extant vocal parts.¹⁵ From 1709 through 1754, the overall average of the

¹³ The debate moved into the mainstream with Joshua Rifkin’s presentation at the 1981 American Musicological Society meeting in Boston. Rifkin’s original paper was published in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 189–208. A helpful bibliography of the whole debate is given in Robin A. Leaver, “Performing Bach: One or many?,” *The Choral Scholar* 1, no. 1 (2009): 6–15.

¹⁴ Guido Erdmann, “‘Eghiptens jamar’: Über den beschwerlichen Einsatz italienischer Sänger in Graupners Kirchenmusik,” *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 2 (2005).

¹⁵ In the statistics that follow, I do not distinguish between solo and ripieno voice parts. For Graupner it is very uncommon for the solo/ripieno status of a part to be indicated in the heading. Thus future research must individually examine each vocal part and compare it with the scoring of each movement to determine its status.

number of extant soprano parts is 1.24; alto parts is 1.24; tenor parts is 1.16; and bass parts is 1.19. The year by year breakdown of the average number of extant vocal parts is given in Table 2.1. Nearly 42% of the time, Graupner's cantatas have one extant part each for soprano, alto, tenor and bass (SATB); the second most common scoring, SSATB occurs only 6% of the time. The complete set of unique configurations of extant vocal parts, sorted by the number of times each occurs, is given in Table 2.2.

Unlike in many other places in Germany, in Darmstadt there were no restrictions preventing the participation of women in the performance of sacred vocal music. Throughout Graupner's time in Darmstadt, all six of the sopranos, and one of the altos, employed by the court were female.¹⁶ It is not known, however, whether this lack of a restriction was because the same singers performed both at the opera and in the court chapel. Großpietsch suggests from this evidence that the cantatas held pride of place for the court.¹⁷ Unlike in Leipzig, where the cantatas were performed by the schoolboy choirs, in Darmstadt they were performed by some of the best singers in Germany. To put it another way, the performance of cantatas became something of a substitute opera: the landgrave could enjoy his prized opera singers, albeit in a sacred context.¹⁸ Again this development speaks to the growing secularization of the court: Ernst Ludwig appreciated the cantatas more as an operatic subgenre than as purely sacred

¹⁶ See Table 2.3 and Ursula Kramer, "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt," in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2011), 360.

¹⁷ Großpietsch, "45 Jahre neue 'Kirchen-Music,'" 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

music. This became particularly true after the opera closed in 1719, and the church became the only performance venue for the opera singers.¹⁹

Friedrich Noack argued that since it was the same singers performing both in the opera and in the cantatas, the latter were conceived in a fundamentally ‘soloistic’ manner. He notes that “almost half” of the cantatas in the “first period” are for solo voices.²⁰ More detailed analysis shows that this somewhat overstates things, but not by much: of Graupner’s first 282 cantatas (composed 1709–21), 69 of them are for solo voice (24%). The distribution by voice type, however, is far from equal. There are 39 for soprano and 30 for bass, but absolutely none for either alto or tenor. Though there was certainly an artistic component to this choice, part of the reason appears to have been practical. Noack also says that Graupner “often” indicated the name of the singer for a given aria in the score.²¹ Though Noack does not specify which cantata scores contain this information, the remark occurs in the context of a discussion of the earlier works. However, in the 43 cantatas in the first three Jahrgänge, I did not find a single instance of this.

¹⁹ The financial circumstances that led to the closing of the opera are discussed in greater detail in Chapters 1 and 5.

²⁰ Noack, *Graupner als Kirchenkomponist*, 17.

²¹ Ibid.

Vocal Scoring

It seems that Graupner did not have a large number of singers at his disposal, so in the event of illness or absence, he would have to do without. In other words, the availability of singers determined the scoring of the cantata for that week. Table 2.3 gives the full roster of singers employed by the court during Graupner's time in Darmstadt.²² Note, however, that this table only establishes a minimum—from time to time, Graupner had additional musicians at his disposal whose primary employment lay elsewhere. During these same years, there are several multi-week (or even multi-month) spans when there are no extant parts for a given voice type. For almost exactly one year, from the Fourth Sunday after Trinity (July 13), 1710 until the Sixth Sunday after Trinity (July 12), 1711, there are no extant alto or tenor parts: all thirteen of the cantatas Graupner composed during this period are either for solo soprano, solo bass, or one of each.²³ Another, even longer gap occurs in 1719–20. In the 34 cantatas Graupner composed between the Third Sunday of Advent (December 17), 1719 until the January 1, 1721, twelve and a half months, while there are 36 extant soprano parts and 29 extant bass parts, there are only 7 extant alto parts and 9 extant tenor parts. Nearly all, 6 of 9, of those tenor parts are from the

²² This table is based on the information contained in Joanna Cobb Biermann, "Die Darmstädter Hofkapelle unter Christoph Graupner 1709–1760," in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 61–66; Kramer, "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt," 356–63; and Erdmann, "Eghiptens jamar," 27.

²³ The cantata that breaks this span, GWV 1148/11 (for the Seventh Sunday after Trinity, 1711), has 10 extant vocal parts: 3 soprano, 3 alto, 2 tenor and 2 bass. There does not appear to be anything special about this particular feast day in Darmstadt, at least as it relates to vocal forces. In 1709, Graupner composed a solo soprano cantata for this Sunday; in 1710 he did not compose a cantata for this day. In future years, the number of extant vocal parts does not depart significantly from the mean—more often than not, there is only one extant part per voice type.

final five weeks of that span. This means that 1720 has only one cantata scored for SATB or SSATB, even though those are overwhelmingly the most common scorings for every other year—most years have between twelve and twenty-seven cantatas with that vocal configuration.

For the 30 cantatas composed between Trinity 13 (September 7), 1727 and Laetare (March 7), 1728, there are only 3 cantatas (with a total of 4 parts) that include the bass voice in their scoring. This period corresponds exactly to a period of lengthy illness for Grünewald, by that time the primary bass singer.²⁴ With this exception, however, from 1723 onward, lengthy runs of cantatas without at least one extant exemplar for each voice type no longer happen. Nevertheless, Graupner certainly retains a preference for the soprano and bass voices in his scoring of solo arias (Table 2.4). During his time in Darmstadt, he wrote a total of 2,399 arias, with the following breakdown by voice type: 1,021 for soprano (43%), 99 for alto (4%), 245 for tenor (10%) and 1,034 for bass (43%). That arias for solo soprano or bass make up 86% of all arias is striking.

Even more striking, however, is the vanishingly small number of alto arias. While illness or absence could account for the avoidance of a particular voice type for a particular period of time, as we have seen, it cannot explain such radically different proportions. We know that Graupner regularly had at least one alto available from 1711 until he ceased cantata composition. However, perhaps it was the

²⁴ Oswald Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken Christoph Graupners in Darmstadt,” in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 188.

case that he did not feel he could rely on them to perform solo material, knowing how little rehearsal time would have been available? Erdmann's work on the use of Italian altos would seem to support this possibility as well.²⁵ If the singer cannot read German script, or even pronounce German correctly, this suggests they could not be relied upon as sight-readers either. We can imagine a situation where the court needed an alto for performances at the opera, and given the preponderance of Italian-language arias, not to mention the extra rehearsal time that would have been available, there would not have been the same concerns about musicianship.

Movement Types

Moving to a discussion of Graupner's use of different types of movements in his cantatas, we can use the database to explore common sequences. As this analysis shows, Graupner regularly uses a standard sequence of movements in roughly a quarter of his cantatas. The most common sequence (coro, recit, aria, recit, aria, recit, chorale) is used in 22.1% of his cantatas. For that matter, the next most common movement sequence is identical, save that it begins with a chorale instead of a chorus, and this occurs in 4.6% of cantatas. For that matter, if we move beyond looking at the particular types and instead look for larger patterns, we can see that the pattern of an opening movement and a closing movement separated by recitative, aria, recitative, aria, recitative is a general pattern widely used by Graupner.

²⁵ Erdmann, "Eghiptens jamar."

Finally, in an overall survey of movement types in the cantatas (Figure 2.4), though there are no pronounced trends, two things do stand out. The first is that, over the course of his career, Graupner's use of recitative increases. Second, and perhaps more interestingly, there is a notable shift in the types of movements composed 1738–43. At this time, he seems to have moved away from secco recitative in favor of accompanied recitative and chorales.

* * *

This chapter demonstrates what we can learn through analysis of the surviving source materials of Graupner's cantatas. Future work can continue to deepen our understanding through, for example, analysis of the individual performance parts, or through comparisons to contemporary composers. The information that will be gleaned thereby is useful not only in that we learn more about the Darmstadt court musical establishment, but also about the broader phenomenon of court and church musical performance in eighteenth-century Germany.

Table 2.1: Average Number of Extant Vocal Parts per Year

| Year | Soprano | Alto | Tenor | Bass | Num Cantatas |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1709 | 2.07 | 1.70 | 1.60 | 1.64 | 20 |
| 1710 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 2.00 | 1.33 | 4 |
| 1711 | 1.41 | 1.50 | 1.25 | 1.14 | 19 |
| 1712 | 2.00 | 1.29 | 1.07 | 1.15 | 35 |
| 1713 | 1.47 | 1.09 | 1.17 | 1.10 | 26 |
| 1714 | 2.40 | 1.38 | 1.31 | 1.17 | 14 |
| 1715 | 1.50 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 3 |
| 1716 | 1.59 | 1.16 | 1.12 | 1.48 | 27 |
| 1717 | 1.50 | 1.00 | 1.50 | 1.00 | 4 |
| 1718 | 1.45 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 22 |
| 1719 | 1.45 | 1.15 | 1.04 | 1.03 | 35 |
| 1720 | 1.78 | 1.17 | 1.00 | 1.13 | 32 |
| 1721 | 1.68 | 1.50 | 1.03 | 1.00 | 32 |
| 1722 | 2.00 | 1.06 | 1.22 | 1.11 | 30 |
| 1723 | 1.84 | 1.13 | 1.58 | 1.14 | 29 |
| 1724 | 1.48 | 1.03 | 1.82 | 1.03 | 34 |
| 1725 | 1.59 | 1.16 | 1.76 | 1.24 | 33 |
| 1726 | 1.30 | 1.23 | 1.47 | 1.13 | 32 |
| 1727 | 1.00 | 1.13 | 1.05 | 1.21 | 39 |
| 1728 | 1.03 | 1.16 | 1.16 | 1.24 | 38 |
| 1729 | 1.04 | 1.24 | 1.10 | 1.14 | 29 |
| 1730 | 1.04 | 1.11 | 1.19 | 1.15 | 27 |
| 1731 | 1.10 | 1.30 | 1.37 | 1.17 | 31 |
| 1732 | 1.00 | 1.31 | 1.31 | 1.26 | 33 |
| 1733 | 1.12 | 1.17 | 1.17 | 1.41 | 30 |
| 1734 | 1.03 | 1.37 | 1.28 | 1.47 | 30 |
| 1735 | 1.16 | 1.26 | 1.26 | 1.19 | 32 |
| 1736 | 1.13 | 1.29 | 1.17 | 1.17 | 27 |
| 1737 | 1.07 | 1.28 | 1.10 | 1.27 | 29 |
| 1738 | 1.04 | 1.33 | 1.13 | 1.58 | 25 |
| 1739 | 1.11 | 1.42 | 1.32 | 1.41 | 39 |
| 1740 | 1.02 | 1.82 | 1.15 | 1.88 | 67 |
| 1741 | 1.07 | 1.83 | 1.02 | 1.43 | 60 |
| 1742 | 1.06 | 1.18 | 1.02 | 1.03 | 60 |
| 1743 | 1.07 | 1.26 | 1.02 | 1.06 | 59 |
| 1744 | 1.12 | 1.13 | 1.00 | 1.03 | 42 |
| 1745 | 1.08 | 1.06 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 38 |
| 1746 | 1.03 | 1.05 | 1.03 | 1.03 | 41 |

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|----|
| 1747 | 1.07 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 41 |
| 1748 | 1.03 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 35 |
| 1749 | 1.00 | 1.06 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 35 |
| 1750 | 1.14 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 25 |
| 1751 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 19 |
| 1752 | 1.11 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 10 |
| 1753 | 1.34 | 1.08 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 37 |
| 1754 | 2.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 2 |

Table 2.2: Extant Vocal Parts

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----|----------------------|---|
| SATB | 582 | S(x2)AT(x2) | 3 |
| S(x2)ATB | 78 | ST | 3 |
| SA(x2)TB(x2) | 76 | S(x2)A(x3)TB | 3 |
| ATB | 71 | SAT(x3)B | 3 |
| SA(x2)TB | 48 | S(x2)A(x2)B | 2 |
| S | 41 | S(x3)AT(x2)B | 2 |
| SATB(x2) | 40 | S(x2)T(x2)B | 2 |
| SA(x2)T(x2)B(x2) | 39 | S(x2)AT(x3)B | 2 |
| SAT | 37 | S(x3)ATB(x2) | 2 |
| B | 37 | A(x2)T(x2)B(x2) | 2 |
| S(x2)AT(x2)B | 28 | AB | 2 |
| SAT(x2)B | 27 | A(x2)T(x2)B | 2 |
| S(x3)ATB | 16 | SA(x3)T(x2)B(x2) | 2 |
| SA(x2)T(x2)B | 16 | S(x4)ATB | 2 |
| S(x2)TB | 15 | S(x2)A(x3)TB(x2) | 2 |
| S(x2)A(x2)TB | 14 | S(x3)A(x3)T(x2)B(x2) | 2 |
| SAT(x2)B(x2) | 12 | S(x3)A(x2)TB | 2 |
| S(x2)A(x2)T(x2)B(x2) | 11 | SA(x2)T(x2)B(x3) | 1 |
| SB | 11 | S(x3)A(x3)T(x3)B(x3) | 1 |
| STB | 10 | SA(x2)TB(x3) | 1 |
| S(x2)AT(x2)B(x2) | 10 | A(x3)TB | 1 |
| S(x2)A(x2)TB(x2) | 9 | S(x3)A(x2)TB(x2) | 1 |
| SAB | 9 | S(x3)A(x2)T(x2)B | 1 |
| A(x2)TB | 9 | SA(x2)T(x3)B(x3) | 1 |
| B(x2) | 8 | S(x3)AB | 1 |
| S(x2)ATB(x2) | 7 | S(x2)T(x2)B(x2) | 1 |
| S(x2)A(x2)T(x2)B | 6 | S(x4) | 1 |
| SA(x3)TB(x2) | 6 | S(x2)A(x2)T(x2) | 1 |
| SAT(x2) | 5 | S(x3)A(x3)T(x3)B | 1 |
| S(x2)B | 5 | AT | 1 |
| TB | 5 | SA | 1 |
| S(x3)TB | 4 | S(x3)A(x3)TB | 1 |
| T | 4 | S(x4)A(x2)TB | 1 |
| S(x2)AB | 4 | S(x3)T(x2)B(x2) | 1 |
| SA(x3)TB | 4 | S(x2)AT(x4)B | 1 |
| AT(x2)B | 4 | S(x3)AT(x2)B(x2) | 1 |
| S(x3)A(x2)T(x2)B(x2) | 3 | SA(x2)T | 1 |
| S(x2) | 3 | (B missing) | 1 |
| A(x2)TB(x2) | 3 | | |

Table 2.3: Singers at the Darmstadt Hofkapelle, 1709–60

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Kayser-Vogel, M. S. | S |
| Schober, A. M. | S |
| Schetky-Vogel, M. L. | S |
| Hesse-Döbricht, J. E. | S |
| Schetky-Eberhardt, M. E. | S |
| Schetky, C. L. | S |
| Campoli, A. | A |
| Toeschi, G. | A |
| Endler, J. S. | A |
| Hamberger, J. J. | A |
| Schetky, L. | A |
| Knöchel, G. A. | T |
| Billing, J. C. | T |
| Richter, J. G. | T |
| Lachmund, J. | T |
| Schetky, E. G. | T |
| Grünewald, G. | B |
| Höflein, J. C. | B |
| Hertzberger, G. B. | B |
| Müntz, J. A. | ? |
| Renner, J. G. | ? |
| Igel, G. | ? |
| Gottlieb | ? |

Table 2.4: Percentage of Arias by Voice Type by Year

| Year | Sop. | Alt. | Ten. | Bass | Total Arias |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1709 | 51% | 5% | 2% | 33% | 55 |
| 1710 | 36% | 0% | 0% | 45% | 11 |
| 1711 | 76% | 2% | 0% | 14% | 49 |
| 1712 | 48% | 0% | 0% | 38% | 82 |
| 1713 | 49% | 0% | 0% | 36% | 53 |
| 1714 | 20% | 0% | 8% | 24% | 25 |
| 1715 | 67% | 0% | 0% | 33% | 3 |
| 1716 | 40% | 11% | 0% | 37% | 57 |
| 1717 | 14% | 14% | 0% | 57% | 7 |
| 1718 | 39% | 9% | 9% | 39% | 44 |
| 1719 | 24% | 5% | 15% | 46% | 79 |
| 1720 | 29% | 4% | 1% | 52% | 83 |
| 1721 | 42% | 1% | 9% | 39% | 67 |
| 1722 | 41% | 3% | 3% | 48% | 63 |
| 1723 | 31% | 10% | 5% | 34% | 61 |
| 1724 | 24% | 2% | 23% | 39% | 62 |
| 1725 | 36% | 2% | 21% | 33% | 58 |
| 1726 | 26% | 11% | 14% | 32% | 66 |
| 1727 | 44% | 9% | 13% | 19% | 77 |
| 1728 | 21% | 25% | 19% | 20% | 75 |
| 1729 | 31% | 6% | 13% | 28% | 54 |
| 1730 | 31% | 5% | 12% | 34% | 58 |
| 1731 | 29% | 8% | 13% | 32% | 62 |
| 1732 | 26% | 5% | 13% | 36% | 61 |
| 1733 | 32% | 6% | 8% | 37% | 62 |
| 1734 | 41% | 6% | 6% | 28% | 54 |
| 1735 | 38% | 0% | 2% | 33% | 64 |
| 1736 | 38% | 0% | 0% | 33% | 48 |
| 1737 | 43% | 5% | 2% | 38% | 56 |
| 1738 | 30% | 2% | 2% | 32% | 53 |
| 1739 | 35% | 4% | 4% | 35% | 75 |
| 1740 | 40% | 1% | 3% | 43% | 131 |
| 1741 | 37% | 1% | 7% | 46% | 114 |
| 1742 | 29% | 0% | 17% | 39% | 110 |
| 1743 | 34% | 3% | 7% | 45% | 114 |
| 1744 | 49% | 0% | 4% | 38% | 81 |
| 1745 | 32% | 0% | 19% | 44% | 73 |

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|-----|-----|----|
| 1746 | 36% | 0% | 14% | 37% | 81 |
| 1747 | 35% | 0% | 20% | 37% | 79 |
| 1748 | 43% | 0% | 7% | 36% | 67 |
| 1749 | 41% | 0% | 9% | 36% | 66 |
| 1750 | 42% | 0% | 4% | 42% | 45 |
| 1751 | 41% | 0% | 11% | 41% | 37 |
| 1752 | 42% | 0% | 11% | 37% | 19 |
| 1753 | 28% | 0% | 15% | 41% | 61 |
| 1754 | 50% | 0% | 0% | 50% | 2 |

Table 2.5: Top Ten Most Frequent Movement Sequences

| Movement Sequence²⁶ | Count | Percent |
|---|--------------|----------------|
| coro, rec, aria, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 311 | 22.1% |
| chorale, rec, aria, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 65 | 4.6% |
| rec, rec, aria, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 61 | 4.3% |
| coro, rec, aria, rec, aria, chorale | 53 | 3.8% |
| coro, rec, aria, chorale, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 45 | 3.2% |
| chorale, rec, aria, rec, aria, chorale | 27 | 1.9% |
| rec, aria, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 26 | 1.8% |
| aria, rec, aria, rec, aria | 23 | 1.6% |
| coro, aria, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 18 | 1.3% |
| aria, rec, chorale, rec, aria, rec, chorale | 17 | 1.2% |

²⁶ There are 594 unique movement sequences in Graupner's cantatas. After some basic aggregation grouping together less-common movement types as well as 'dictum' with 'coro', this reduces it to 442 possibilities. Of these, the vast majority, 327, occur only once. After the top ten listed in this table, no other sequence occurs in more than 1.1% (=16) of cantatas.

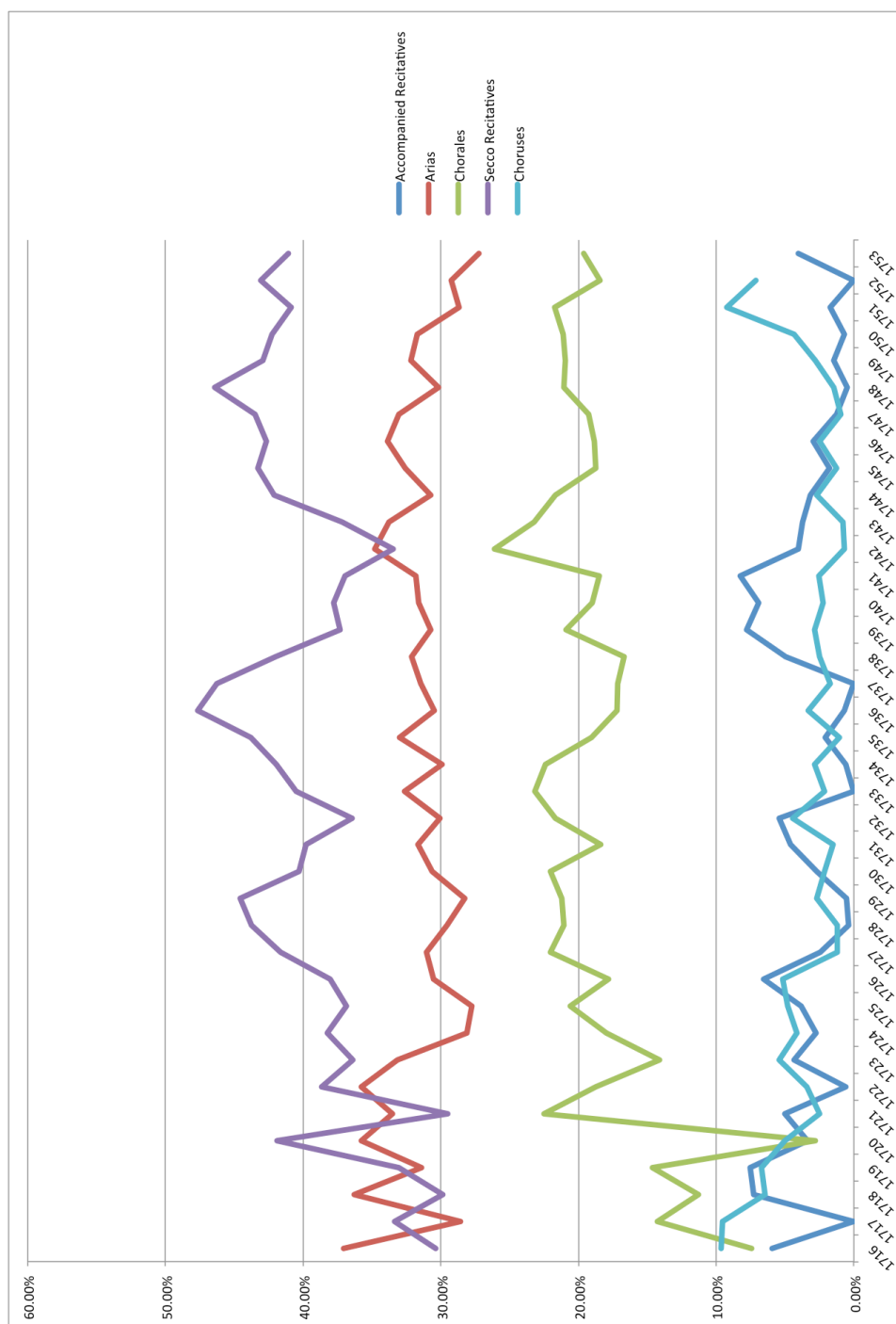


Figure 2.4: Movement Type Frequency in Graupner's Cantatas, 1716–1753

Chapter 3

Sermons in Sound, or Cantatas and Theology

Christoph Graupner's cantatas were not conceived as free-standing musical works, but rather as an integral part of the Lutheran church service at the Darmstadt Schlosskirche.¹ Robert Marshall's comment about J. S. Bach's cantatas applies equally to Graupner's: "such compositions were not intended primarily for the 'delectation' of a concert *public*, but rather for the 'edification' of a church *congregation*... Bach's cantatas, in fact, were conceived and should be regarded not as concert pieces at all but as musical sermons; and they were incorporated as such into the regular Sunday church services."²

¹ For more on the physical setup of the Schlosskirche, see Chapter 2.

² Robert L. Marshall, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* (New York: Schirmer, 1989), 68–69.

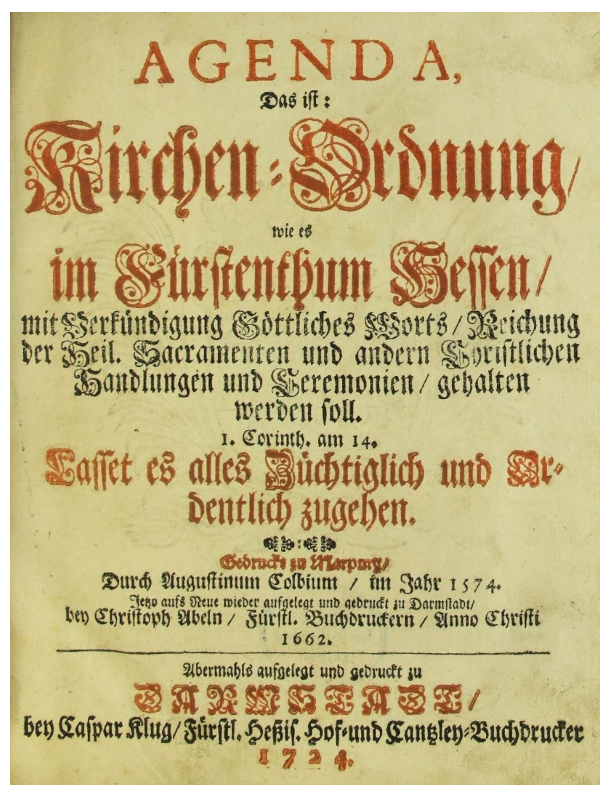


Figure 3.1: *Agenda, das ist: Kirchen-Ordnung wie es im Fürstenthum Hessen* (Darmstadt: Klug, 1724).

In the 1720s, a revision of the Darmstadt liturgical books was apparently undertaken: we have the revision of the *Kirchen-Ordnung* (Darmstadt: Klug, 1724), and the publication of a new *Choral-Buch* ([Darmstadt], 1728), *Gesang-Buch* (Darmstadt: Klug, 1729) and lectionary (1729). Though there is much to be said about the other three volumes—the *Choral-Buch* in particular, which was prepared by Graupner himself—we turn here to the *Kirchen-Ordnung* (Figure 3.1) to get a sense for the structure of the regular devotional service.

As the title and prefatory pages show, this is the third revision of the Darmstadt *Kirchen-Ordnung*:

it was first printed in 1574 (seven years after the creation of an independent Hessen-Darmstadt) and the second revision dates from 1662. It is thus no surprise that the language is rather conservative—continuity with a 150-year-old document was evidently a goal. It is no surprise then that the section devoted to describing the order of the regular church service does not specifically mention a cantata. It does, however, mention music throughout. The service begins with (1) the singing of a hymn by the students (“die Schüler”), followed by (2) the singing of the Introit; next comes (3) the singing of the Kyrie and the “Et in terra” (i.e., the Gloria), and then (4) the reading of the Epistle.³ After the Epistle, there is (5) either the singing of a Sequence or “good German Psalms” (“gute Teutsche Psalmen”). The Gospel (6) is read from the altar, followed by one of several options for the (7) Credo, either sung or spoken. Before the (8) sermon, when the presider moves from the altar to the pulpit, one of several hymns is sung. Next comes (9) a “short recollection and admonition of the communicants,” followed by (10) the confession and absolution of sins, (11) consecration, (12) a short song to accompany the priest leaving the pulpit, (13) confirmation, if necessary, (14) communion and finally, the dismissal (with a song of praise).

Music was omnipresent in the service, and yet there was no clear spot in the service order for the performance of a large piece of music, like a twenty-minute cantata. That being said, this service order is intended for all of Hessen-Darmstadt, from very small village churches to very large congregational

³ The numbers here refer to the listening of the service order in the *Kirchen-Ordnung*, pages 19–23.

churches, and even the Schlosskirche. Thus, it must be generic enough to accommodate all possibilities. We know that during Bach's time in Leipzig, the cantata was performed between the Gospel and the Credo.⁴ Such a placement is theoretically possible in Darmstadt as well, but it seems more likely that it came either between the Epistle and Gospel (in place of the "good German Psalm") or between the Credo and the sermon, in place of the hymn. These at least are two centrally-placed moments for which music is specifically designated.

Graupner's "congregation" was not so very large. Indeed, while the court, and additional guests, may have been present at the services in the Schlosskirche, the focus of the service, and therefore the cantata, would have been the landgrave himself. Yet even though Graupner was not principally attempting to edify a large congregation, the cantatas are still clearly theological works; to be effective pieces of music, they must assist in the communication of the theological precepts conveyed in their texts. However, rather than attempting to ascertain the theological position of the composer, my project here is to read a given composition against its theological backdrop. In other words, one can focus on either the message an author is trying to communicate, or one can focus on how a given communication would likely have been understood.⁵

⁴ Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, eds., *The New Bach Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 113.

⁵ Scott Milner has articulated exactly the opposite view: "By addressing [blessed death] the author is able to bring focus to the problem of the interrelations between the composer's theological thought and his musical compositions" (Scott C. Milner, "The 'Blessed Death' in the Church Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach" [PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1995], vi). My theological project is more closely aligned with that of Eric Chafe, who seeks to untangle the web of interconnections in which a given cantata would have been perceived. See especially Eric Chafe, *Analyzing Bach*

For the former project, one seeks out evidence that can be used to reconstruct, albeit partially and imperfectly, the beliefs of the composer. In Bach studies, the primary example of this is the concern with the theological holdings of his personal library—there has been a special focus on Bach's copy of the Calov Bible, which contains his own marginalia.⁶ However, even if one wanted to engage in a similar project for Graupner, much of the necessary source evidence is missing. We do not know, for instance, what if any, theological books Graupner had in his library, as there is no contemporary catalogue of it. Rather my intent here is to provide a brief overview of Lutheran theology as it relates to death and salvation, starting with Luther and working into the early eighteenth century. I do not argue that Graupner, or his librettists Lehms and Lichtenberg, were necessarily familiar with a given passage or even a particular theologian. Rather, I aim to show the emphasis and treatment given to particular concepts, such as the doctrine of justification or a longing for death.

After a broad overview of concepts in Lutheran eschatology, this chapter moves to a focus on two feast days in particular—the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity and Purification—two days dominated by topics of death and salvation. The corpus of Graupner's works is vast, and he treats the topic of death extensively. I do not therefore purport to be in any way exhaustive—Graupner wrote twenty-three

Cantatas (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), though he has written a great deal on the theological analysis of Bach's music.

⁶ Robin A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek: eine kritische Bibliographie*, Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 1 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985); Robin A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: Glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985); Howard Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985).

cantatas for the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity and twenty for Purification.⁷ Though I draw heavily on Luther, I also consider seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theologians, to show a development of theological concepts.

Though there has been much discussion of the changing Lutheran theology of death and dying from the Reformation through the Enlightenment, little attention has been paid to the juxtaposition of source material from both periods.⁸ This juxtaposition happens both textually—newly written librettos alongside chorale texts—and musically—new-style arias and recitatives alongside chorales. This has profound implications. As Scott Milner suggests, “Bach, exercising refined taste or acting on his awareness of political-theological currents, may have sought to distinguish such theological/historical layers, or even to show relationships between them.” Yet Graupner, and every other cantata composer, does exactly this same thing—they all include new music and text alongside the old. Indeed, one can add one more old element to Milner’s list: the Bible itself. Yet there does not seem to be any evidence to suggest that they thought of these materials as ‘historical’ in the sense Milner means it. For them, I think, the Bible, and chorales, were modern, living documents of the faith. Rather than glaring juxtapositions of new and old, we see, I think, subtle shadings in emphasis. Furthermore, even if it is

⁷ One book on the five cantatas that Bach wrote for Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity is over 400 pages long: Martin-Christian Mautner, *Mach einmal mein Ende gut: zur Sterbekunst in den Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs zum 16. Sonntag nach Trinitatis* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1997).

⁸ Scott C. Milner, “Süße Todesstunde or Mit Fried und Freud: Reformation Theology and the Lutheran ‘Art of Dying’ in Two Bach Cantatas,” *Bach* 31, no. 1 (2000): 34.

not made explicit, eighteenth-century theologians and librettists both understood that Luther was the foundation, and they were laying their interpretations on top of this. For example, even if they do not explicitly evoke the doctrine of justification, it should be understood as continuing to hold.

Paul Althaus, one of the most prominent Lutheran scholars of the twentieth century, writes that: “Theology is and remains theology of the cross; therefore it necessarily becomes eschatology.”⁹ In other words: it all comes back to death. Luther’s fixation on an apparently morbid topic is explained by understanding that the goal of the good Lutheran was to attain salvation. While for Luther, “the death of a man is, however, an infinite and eternal misery and wrath.”¹⁰ Yet Luther offers comfort and consolation.¹¹

For Luther, there is a two-part division in eschatological theology—on the one hand, the law, and on the other, the Gospel. It is the wrathful, vengeful God who seeks to punish through death: “The man who is proud and rebels against God encounters God’s ‘no’ to him in the destructive experience of death.”¹² This God of the law is the God of ‘no.’ Yet when the believer “humbles himself ... and flees to the mercy God offers him *in the Gospel*, then he, under the ‘no,’ also receives God’s great ‘yes’ to him

⁹ Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 404.

¹⁰ Luther’s interpretation of Psalm 90, as quoted in *ibid.*, 405.

¹¹ Recent musicological work on this topic includes David Yearsley, “Death Everyday: The Anna Magdalena Bach Book of 1725 and the Art of Dying,” *Eighteenth-Century Music* 2, no. 2 (September 2005): 231–49 and Mautner, *Mach einmal mein Ende gut*.

¹² Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, 407.

in Christ.”¹³ We see here a set of binary oppositions: law and Gospel and, implicitly, damnation and salvation. Luther himself vividly evokes this struggle against the ‘no’ of the Law: “Christians, however, and God-fearing men know that their death, together with all the other miseries of this life, is to be equated with God’s wrath. Therefore they find themselves compelled to struggle and fight with the wrathful God in order to preserve their salvation.”¹⁴

The theology here is functioning on two temporal levels: on that of the individual human life, and that of all temporal existence. Indeed, one might even see the former as a microcosm of the latter. In the creation myth told in the first chapters of Genesis, man defies God’s commandments, and thereby incurs his wrath and damnation. In his discussion of baptism in the *kleiner Catechismus*, Luther makes direct reference to this through the metaphor of the “old Adam in us”:

What does such baptizing with water signify? It signifies that the old Adam in us should, by daily contrition and repentance, be drowned and die with all sins and evil lusts, and, again, a new man daily come forth and arise; who shall live before God in righteousness and purity forever.¹⁵

The Lutheran thus was aware of the fine path he tread, between an angry and vengeful God and a God of salvation. This was the primary thought in his mind when contemplating death: the believer

¹³ Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, 407; my emphasis.

¹⁴ WA 40.3:554; LW 13:112, quoted in *ibid.*, 406–7.

¹⁵ English translation from the *Triglot Concordia* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1921), online at <http://bookofconcord.org/smallcatechism.php>; “Was bedeut dann solch Wasser tauffen? Es bedeut / daß der alte Adam in uns durch tägliche Reu und Buß soll ersäufft werden / und sterben / mit allen Sünden und bösen Lüsten / und wiederum täglich heraus kommen / und auferstehen ein neuer Mensch / der in Gerechtigkeit und Reinigkeit für GOtt ewig[!]ich lebe.” Luther’s “Kleiner Catechismus” (*Ordentliche Einrichtung der gewöhnlichen Evangelien und Episteln / auf alle Sonn- hohe Fest- Feyer, und Apostels Tage durchs gantze Jahr* [Darmstadt: Caspar Klug, 1729], 19)

must make sure, especially at the hour of death, to remain continually faithful, lest he be eternally damned. Yet, for the fervent Lutheran, death is something not to be feared, but to be desired—death is the fulfillment of the promise to banish sin made in baptism. As Althaus writes, “Since God uses a man’s death to set him free from himself and from death, *the Christian desires death*.”¹⁶ He continues, quoting Luther saying that “Death, then, which previously was a punishment of sin is now a remedy for sin. Thus it is now blessed.”¹⁷

Trinity 16

The Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity, which falls between September 6 and October 10, appears to have been a time in the Lutheran church year for the contemplation of death.¹⁸ In the Darmstadt lectionary, and most other lectionaries of the time, the Gospel reading for the day was Luke 7:11–17 (Table 3.1) and the Epistle was Ephesians 3:13–21. This focus on death clearly derives from the Gospel reading, which tells of the raising of the son of the widow of Nain—the Epistle is St. Paul’s prayer that Christ dwell in the hearts of the Ephesians. In the Gospel, Jesus, along with his disciples, upon entering the city of Nain, sees a funeral procession surrounding a widow whose only son has just died.¹⁹ Jesus,

¹⁶ Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, 407, emphasis original.

¹⁷ Ibid., 408.

¹⁸ For an exhaustive treatment of this topic, particularly as it relates to Bach, see Mautner, *Mach einmal mein Ende gut*.

¹⁹ The age of the son is not entirely clear from the biblical passage. In Luther’s translation and the Darmstadt lectionary, he is referred to in verse 12 as “todter” (dead person) and in verse 14 as “Jüngling” (young boy); likewise in the Vulgate,

without being asked, commands the boy to stand up, and he does and begins to speak.

Table 3.1: Luke 7:11–17 (Gospel for Trinity 16)

¹¹ And it came to pass the day after, that he went into a city called Nain; and many of his disciples went with him, and much people.²⁰

¹² Now when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, there was a dead man carried out, the only son of his mother, and she was a widow: and much people of the city was with her.

¹³ And when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not.

¹⁴ And he came and touched the bier: and they that bare him stood still. And he said, Young man, I say unto thee, Arise.

¹⁵ And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak. And he delivered him to his mother.

¹⁶ And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, That God hath visited his people.

¹⁷ And this rumour of him went forth throughout all Judaea, and throughout all the region round about.

¹¹ UND es begab sich darnach / daß JEsus in eine stadt mit namen Nain gieng / und seiner jünger giengen viel mit ihm / und viel volcks;²¹

¹² als er aber nahe an das stad thor kam / sihe / da trug man einen todten heraus / der ein einiger sohn war seiner mutter / und sie war eine wittwe / und viel volcks aus der stadt gieng mit ihr.

¹³ Und da sie der HErr sahe / jammerte ihn derselbigen / und sprach zu ihr: weine nicht.

¹⁴ Und tratt hinzu / vnd rührete den sarg an / und die träger stunden. Und er sprach: Jüngling / ich sage dir / stehe auf.

¹⁵ Und der todte richtete sich auf / und fieng an zu reden / und er gab ihn seiner mutter.

¹⁶ Und es kam sie alle eine furcht an / und preiseten GOtt / und sprachen: Es ist ein grosser Prophet unteruvs aufgestanden / und GOtt hat sein volck heimgesucht.

¹⁷ Und diese rede von ihm erschall in das gantze Jüdischeland / und in alle umliegende länder.

In his *Kirchen-Postille* (1544), Martin Luther devoted two sermons to this Gospel verse, the first

he is referred to first as “defunctus” (dead person) and then “adulescens” (adolescent). In the KJV however, the terms are “dead man” and “Young man”, respectively. This seems simply to be an English translation issue: “defunctus” simply means ‘dead (male) person’, but to be more idiomatic, the KJV simply uses ‘man’. In a footnote, the New American Standard Bible (NASB) clarifies that “one who had died” is the intended meaning. In his sermons, he clearly understands the son to be a fairly young child. Likewise, Lichtenberg’s libretto seems to take this approach—movement 3 refers to his “Kindheit” (childhood).

²⁰ KJV.

²¹ *Ordentliche Einrichtung der gewöhnlichen Evangelien und Episteln / auff alle Sonn- hohe Fest- Feyer, und Apostels Tage durchs gantze Jahr*, 60. Copy consulted: D-Gs, 8 CANT GEB 39/a-3 (<http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN660776960>). Spelling, punctuation and capitalization original; verse numbering added.

of which focuses on the unmerited nature of the miracle.²² Luther writes that, “we must truly confess [the widow] did not merit [Christ’s loving-kindness and grace].”²³ The widow did not know, and could not have known, that Christ was about to enter the city, and so could not have prepared for it. “From this,” he continues, “we can draw the general rule that applies to all the merciful deeds of God, that they all overtake us without our merits, even before we seek them. ... If we deserved it, it would not be grace.”²⁴ Luther’s sermon is intended to be a comfort to the believer: you need only have faith, believe in Jesus, and you will be saved through God’s grace, not through your own merits. Luther cannot imagine that a human being, an imperfect creature, could possibly do enough to merit worthiness in God’s eyes—therefore man cannot possibly “deserve” his salvation, he cannot earn it, it comes through grace alone. The primary focus of Luther’s sermon is that God will take away from us the things that we take for granted, as he did with the widow in the Gospel reading. In a rhetorical device often used in his sermons, the Widow of Nain stands in for all believers: we must all recognize the fleetingness of our possessions and our relations, and deal with their loss appropriately, through faith in God. This translates clearly into the message of Graupner’s cantata for this day in 1737: do not take life for granted, for it could be gone at any time.

²² First sermon: John Nicholas Lenker, trans., *Luther’s Church Postil: Gospels: Thirteenth to Twenty-Sixth Sunday after Trinity*, vol. 5 (Minneapolis, MN: Lutherans in All Lands, 1905), 127ff; W. 11:2195; St. L. 11:1646. Second sermon: *ibid.*, 140ff; W. 11:2211; St. L. 11:1658; WA 37:534.

²³ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

Es begab sich, dass Jesus in eine Stadt mit Namen Nain ging, *GWV 1157/37*

For Trinity 16 (October 6), 1737, Graupner set a cantata text that takes the beginning of the day's Gospel reading for its first movement.²⁵ In conflating verses 11–12 of the Gospel, however, the librettist J. C. Lichtenberg significantly heightens the pathos. Gone are the large funeral procession (“viel volcks”) and any mention of the disciples, leaving only the widow, her dead child and Jesus: an intimate portrait of suffering. Likewise, rather than continue on with the Gospel text, the scene pauses here for the contemplation of death. In a manner similar to that of a sermon, the libretto does not just treat the events literally, but uses them to launch into a discussion of their spiritual significance. Graupner sets the first movement as a relatively chromatic accompanied recitative, which he gives the heading “Tombeau.”²⁶ The viola's B \flat in the very first measure casts a pall over the otherwise untroubled C major. The throbbing, plodding bass line descends a full tetrachord to G, against a slowly undulating sheen of chromaticism. In just the first six measures, before the voice entry, we have been pulled both flatward and sharpward, with a particularly strong pull to the minor. Whereas our expectations are for an initial stable tonicization of the home key, we hear exactly the opposite. Though the atmosphere is serene, we cannot help but be unsettled.

²⁵ Friedrich Noack, ed., *Es begab sich, dass Jesus in eine Stadt mit Namen Nain ging*, in *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* 51–52 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1926), 198–215.

²⁶ In the original performing parts, the movement is identified as a “Tombeau” in six parts, but only as a “Dictum” in three.

The tenor voice enters in m. 6, narrating the paraphrased Gospel text. The scene is one of intense sadness, even misery. Not only is this poor woman a widow, she has now lost her only son; she is alone in the world. Yet there is a clear sense of consolation, for we know how the story ends: in just a few moments, Jesus will bring the young boy back to life. It is telling, however, that the Gospel narrative is incomplete in the cantata itself. The congregation is not meant to understand this vignette as referring to a specific miracle. Rather the believer ought to read himself into the scenario, as the next movement makes clear.

For the text of the second movement, Lichtenberg chooses a dialogue format. Though the original printed libretto is no longer extant, it is easy to imagine that the layout would have suggested two ‘voices.’ Yet, Graupner does not set it as a dialogue, using multiple singers. Rather, he assigns the entire text, as a secco recitative, to the bass. This has the effect of heightening the feeling of introspection. Rather than a discussion between two characters, this is a moment of internal contemplation, of interior monologue. Though the bass voice is often the one assigned the role of Jesus in passion settings, or Soul/Jesus duets, I think we are instead meant to read this text as being delivered by an everyman. The members of the congregation are meant to be asking themselves these questions.

The third movement, another “Tombeau,” is sparsely scored: two chalumeaux join the strings, continuo and bass voice.²⁷ Though Graupner was one of the most prolific composers for the chalumeau

²⁷ The movement is designated “Tombeau” in the six participating parts (Vl1, Vl2, Va, Vlne, Chal1, Chal2, Bc, B) and “Aria” in the three tacet vocal parts.

in the eighteenth century, its use is still somewhat exceptional in his orchestral palette: oboes and flutes are considerably more common.²⁸ Evidently the sound of this instrument was somewhat brighter, even more abrasive, than the modern-day clarinet. Walther described it as sounding “like a man singing through his teeth” and Mattheson referred to its “somewhat wailing [heulend] sound.”²⁹ Perhaps then this choice in orchestration is meant to depict the cries of the widows and orphans described in the following recitative. As Luther writes, “God in the Scriptures is often mentioned as the Father of the widow and orphans.”³⁰

Roughly half of the measures in the A section of the aria lack any continuo: the instrumental accompaniment consists mostly of antiphonal exchanges between the chalumeaux and the strings. The incessant recurrence of a repeating-eighth-note motive reminds the believer of the inescapability of death. A striking shift in tone takes place in the B section, which assumes a mocking tone of its own, ridiculing the haughty man who thinks he cannot be overtaken by death at any moment. The continuo suddenly doubles its pace, with sixteenth-notes predominating. The comfort of death and salvation fades from the eyes of the non-believer.

In the fifth movement, a soprano aria, the mood changes completely. No longer one of consolation,

²⁸ For more on Graupner’s use of the chalumeau, including in his instrumental works, see Colin Lawson, “Graupner and the Chalumeau,” *Early Music* 11, no. 2 (1983): 209–16.

²⁹ Colin Lawson, “Chalumeau,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed July 18, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05376>.

³⁰ Lenker, *Luther’s Church Postil: Gospels*, 131.

or even admonishment, it is one of unbridled joy. On the phrase “Sterben bringt mir kein Verderben” (Death brings me no ruin), paired sixteenth notes jump to and fro, almost giving the sense of laughter. We might recall in this context Luther’s effusive depiction of joy in Simeon’s contemplation of death. Only in the B section does the moment of resurrection actually occur, and when it does, a jubilant five-measure melisma (mm. 68–72), up to B \flat ⁵ greets it (Figure 3.2). The music tells us that this is not an earthly resurrection, like the one of the young boy in the Gospel, rather this is the resurrection of the believer into eternal life with his savior. The continuo drops out and the soprano is the highest melodic line against the text “denn so werd ich Jesum sehen.”

The final movement is an elaborate setting of a chorale melody for the whole orchestra and four voices; this kind of setting is more typical for Graupner than the plain four-voice settings that usually conclude Bach’s cantatas. The text is the thirteenth verse of the chorale “Ich hab mein Gott Sach heimgestellt.” However, Graupner does not simply move into the chorale melody, rather he draws out the initial “Amen”; the staggered entries, gradually building up triads, almost suggests a heavenly chorus. Though the text tells us that we will soon come into the heavenly kingdom, the music tells us that we are already there. The lines in the two violins are lively even for Graupner: extended passages of parallel thirds in sixteenth notes, leaps and syncopations. Though the topic of the cantata is somber, it is hard to reach the end without a feeling of joy and satisfaction.

65

je - der To - ter wird durch Chri - stum, wird durch Chri - stum auf

6 6 6 6 6

70

er - ste - hen, denn so,

6 6 6 6 6

74

denn so werd ich Je - su - sum se - hen,

Figure 3.2: Graupner, *Es begab sich*, BWV 1157/37, mvt. 5, mm. 65–78

Table 3.2: *Es begab sich, dass Jesus in eine Stadt mit Namen Nain ging*, GWV 1157/37

[1. Dictum/Tombeau (T)]

Es begab sich, daß Jesus in eine Stadt mit Namen Nain ging; als er aber nahe an das Stadttor kam, siehe, da trug man einen Toten heraus, der ein einziger Sohn war seiner Mutter, und sie war eine Witwe.³¹

At that time Jesus came to the city of Nain, as he came near to the city gate, he saw a dead person being carried out, who was the only son of his mother, and she was a widow.

[2. Recitativo (B)]

Mein Herz, was siehest du? Eine Leiche. Wer ist's? Ein junges Blut. Was hörst du? Trauerlieder, und wie die Witwe kläglich tut. Was denkst du? Der Arme und der Reiche, so jung als alt, entgehn dem Tode nicht. Was glaubest du? Sie werden wieder vom Tod und Moder auferstehn. Was hoffest du? Das, was mir Gott verspricht: ich soll in's ew'ge Leben gehn. Was tust du denn? Ich will die Sünden meiden, so kann ich hoffnungsvoll dereinst von hinnen scheiden.

My heart, what do you see? A corpse. Who is it? A young boy. What do you hear? Songs of sorrow, and how pitifully the widow sings them. What do you think? The poor and the rich, the young and the old, cannot escape death. What do you believe? They will be raised again from death and decay. What do you hope? What God says to me: that I shall live in eternal life. What do you do? I will avoid sin, so that I can hopefully enter into his protection.

[3. Aria (B)]

Ein Jüngling liegt, ach auf der Bahre,
die Kindheit zollt dem Tode schon.
Was pochst du denn auf deine Jahre, o Mensch,
und hast es deinen Hohn, wenn man vom Sterben spricht!
Du denkst: es trifft mich nicht.
Kein Stand, kein Alter, keine Zeit hat jemand
je vom Tod befreit.

A boy lies, oh, on the bier,
childhood already given to death.
What [makes] you insist on your age, oh man,
and you have mocked when others speak of death!
You think: it won't happen to me.
No status, no age, no time has freed anyone
from death.

[4. Recitativo (S)]

³¹ Based on DDT edition; orthography modernized.

O mensch, nimm deiner wahr, bespiegle dich
an jeder Leiche. Er blickst du eine Totenbahr,
ach, denke, daß auch dich des Todes Pfeil er-
reicht. Hörst du der Trauerlieder Schall, wie
Wittwen, wie die Waisen weinen, sprich: ach,
vielleicht betrifft die Meinen gar bald ein gle-
icher Fall. Senkt man den Toten in die Erde
bedenke, wer sein Nachbar werde. Die Reihe
ist vielleicht an dir, drum schicke dich beizeit,
du bleibst nicht immer hier.

O man, take your truth, see yourself in each
corpse. When you see a bier, oh, think, also
that the arrow of death strikes you. Hear the
sound of the song of sorrow, like widows, like
orphans cry, speak: oh, perhaps this could also
happen to me. Consider the lowering of a dead
person into the earth, who becomes his neigh-
bor. You might be next in line, that's why you
should reconcile yourself at this time, you will
not always be here.

[5. Aria (S)]

Schicke dich, mein Herz zum Sterben,
Sterben bringt mir kein Verderben, nein,
der Tod ist mein Gewinn.
Wird der Leib zu Staub und Moder,
jeder Toter wird durch Christum auferstehen
denn so werd ich Jesum sehen,
weil ich hier sein eigen bin.

Reconcile yourself, my heart to death,
Death brings me no ruin, no,
Death is my reward.
When life goes to dust and rot,
each dead person will be raised through Christ
For thus will I see Jesus,
Because here [i.e. in death/heaven] I am his
own.

[6. Choral (SATB)]

Amen, mein lieber, frommer Gott,
bescher uns All'n ein'n sel'gen Tod.
Hilf, daß wir mögen allzugleich
bald in dein Reich
kommen und bleiben ewiglich.

Amen, my dear, righteous God,
Grant us all a blessed death.
Help us to want to
come soon into your kingdom
And remain there eternally.

Purification

In the Lutheran liturgical year at the time of Graupner, there were three Marian festivals: Purification (*Reinigung*), Annunciation (*Verkündigung*) and Visitation (*Heimsuchung*). While Annunciation and Visitation have Gospel readings that emphasize the role of Mary in Christ's incarnation—the former features the Magnificat text and the latter the “Hail Mary”—the Purification Gospel (Luke 2:22–32,

see Table 3.3) hardly mentions the mother of God beyond the first verse. This has repercussions for cantata librettos as well: as a general rule, Mary is barely mentioned.³² The balance of the Gospel is devoted to the story of Simeon, who was promised by God that he would not die until he had seen the savior. It is this passage in particular—the so-called “Nunc dimittis,” after the first two words of verse 29 in Latin—that had particular resonance in Lutheran theology. Milner identifies it as one of two passage in the New Testament that had come, by the early eighteenth century, to be understood as “relating a desire for death.”³³

Table 3.3: Luke 2:22–32 (Gospel for Purification)

²² And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord;³⁴

²³ (As it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;)

²² UND da die tage ihrer reinigung nach dem gesetz Mose kamen / brachten sie das kind Jesum gen Jerusalem / auf daß sie ihn darstellten dem HErrn /³⁵

²³ (wie dann geschrieben stehet in dem gesetz des HErrn: Allerley mannlein, das zum ersten die mutter bricht / soll dem HErrn geheiligt heissen)

³² In a corpus of 37 cantata librettos for Purification by various authors published between 1694 and 1766, Mary’s name appears in only two librettos a total of three times. In two of those occurrences, it is in the phrase “Gottes und Marien Sohn” and the third is the phrase “Er was Mariens erster Sohn.” Thus, even when Mary is present by name, she is de-emphasized. My sincere thanks to Mark Peters for providing me with his corpus. Perhaps this echos the first of Luther’s two *Hauspostille* sermons (Martin Luther, *House-Postil: or, Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Church-Year*, 2nd ed., trans. E. Schmid and D. M. Martens [Columbus, OH: J. A. Schulze, 1884], 305–15). In the first sermon, he confines himself almost entirely to the first three verses of the Gospel, saying that the practice of purification is antiquated and unnecessary, and discussing at length the importance of the *first-born* son.

³³ Milner, “Süße Todesstunde,” 35; the other passage, he says, is Philipians 1:21–24, citing Jaroslav Pelikan, *Bach Among the Theologians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 70.

³⁴ KJV.

³⁵ *Ordentliche Einrichtung der gewöhnlichen Evangelien und Episteln / auff alle Sonn- hohe Fest- Feyer, und Apostels Tage durchs gantze Jahr*, 72.

²⁴ And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.

²⁵ And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him.

²⁶ And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

²⁷ And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law,

²⁸ Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said,

²⁹ Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word:

³⁰ For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

³¹ Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;

³² A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

²⁴ und daß sie geben das opfer / nach dem gesagt ist im gesetz des HErrn / ein paar turteltauben / oder zwei junge tauben.

²⁵ Und siehe / ein mensch war zu Jerusalem / mit namen Simeon / und derselbige mensch war fromm und gottsfurchtig / und wartete auf den trost Israel / und der Heil. Geist war in ihm.

²⁶ Und ihm war eine antwort worden von dem Heil. Geist / er solte den tod nicht sehen / er hätte dann zuvor den Christ des HErrn gesehen /

²⁷ und kam aus anregung des Geistes in den tempel. Und da die eltern das kind JEsu in den tempel brachten / daß sie vor ihn thäten / wie man pflegete nach dem gesetz /

²⁸ da nahm er ihn auf seine arm / und lobete GOtt / und sprach:

²⁹ HErr / nun lässest du deinen diener im friede fahren / wie du gesagt hast.

³⁰ Dann meine augen haben deinen Heyland gesehen /

³¹ welchen du bereitet hast für allen völkern.

³² Ein licht zu erleuchten die Heyden / und zum preiß deines volcks Israel.

Though verses 25–32 give a restrained telling of Simeon's encounter with the child Jesus, this is transformed by Luther, in his sermon for Purification 1526, in to a highly personal and emotional encounter, filled with unimaginable joy:

This grave man held the child, a joyful [*frowlich*] thing, and his heart became young with great joy [*freuden*]; indeed, he was so full of joy [*freuden*] that it is impossible to describe it. ... His heart, which truly knew the child, was so joyful [*frölich*] that it would be no wonder if he had died of joy [*fur freuden gestorben*], for so rightly fulfilled was his joy [*begird*] that

he not only saw the child but held him in his arms.³⁶

It is telling that Luther renders the description of Simeon in Luke 2:25 as “faithful and God-fearing” (*fromm und gottfurchtig*).³⁷ In Luther’s rendering, we do not know what actions, if any, Simeon performed in order to reach this stage. Rather, it is through his state of being, his faithfulness and fear of God, that merit his special treatment by God, and, analogously, his salvation. We see here just one instance of the Lutheran doctrine of *sola fide*, that man is saved by faith alone, in opposition to the Catholic view that he is saved through faith and good works. Thus, Luther continues, extending this joy at seeing the savior to joy in the face of death:

Why will you though so willing die? “For my eyes have seen your Savior.” [Luke 2:30] That is the treasure who cheers [*erfreut*] me and makes death lovely [*lieplich*] to me. That is, as I have just said, were we to see him who was born under the Law and know him as the one who helps us, it is not possible that we would not be joyful [*frolich*] and unafraid before death.³⁸

We can see that it is not joy about what is to come in heaven, but rather joy in knowing that one is saved. The fear of death conversely comes not from the fear of what awaits the unfaithful person in hell, but rather fear of sin itself.

Indeed, death itself “is the result of sin,” says Luther in his *Hauspostille* (1544), “for through sin death came.”³⁹ He alludes here, in all likelihood, to the beginning of Genesis: God created man in his

³⁶ WA 20:254; translated in Milner, “*Süße Todesstunde*,” 36.

³⁷ In the KJV, the equivalent passage is rendered as “just and devout.”

³⁸ WA 20:254–55; translation based on Milner, “*Süße Todesstunde*,” 37.

³⁹ Luther, *House-Postil*, 321.

image, to live eternally, but through sin, man rejected God, and was punished with inescapable death.

Luther continues:

Hence our death is harder and more terrible than that of other creatures, for we have to fear the wrath and judgment of God, which endure after death and continue eternally. If it were not thus, men would not mind death so much. It is true that the separation from wife, children, kindred, friends and earthly possessions, which are all dear to us, is painful; still this is nothing compared with that agony which the conviction that we are sinners and that we must appear before the judgment seat of God produces.⁴⁰

Simeon, by contrast, exclaims “O Lord, now let your servant go in peace, as you have said,” that is, says

Luther, “I will now die without fear [*forcht*] or trembling [*schrecken*], yea with joy [*freiden*].”⁴¹

Luther continues on, making the connection with *sola fide* explicit:

With this name Savior, which Simeon bestows upon the Child, he extracts the fang from the mouth of the law and the priesthood,⁴² and other ceremonial observances [*Gottes dienst*], and cautions every one against regarding such institutions as saviors, and plainly asserts that he who has nothing to depend on but the Law and good works, will surely go to the devil. ... for it is an eternal truth that this Child alone is the Savior, and nothing else in heaven or on earth can perform the work of salvation.⁴³

And Luther comforts the believer, saying that one who wishes to be saved may follow in Simeon’s

footsteps: “It is necessary that we look to this Child, that we take Him upon our arms and caress Him

with fond embraces, as Simeon did.”⁴⁴ We will see this same, strong, emotional, personal connection

⁴⁰ Luther, *House-Postil*, 321.

⁴¹ Ibid., 320; WA 52:156.

⁴² Luther refers here to an earlier excursus in this sermon, in which he criticizes the pope and the bishops as un-Christian, and says that they are not the true church (ibid., 319).

⁴³ Ibid., 323–24; WA 52:158.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 324; WA 52:159

with Jesus in the librettos of Graupner's cantatas.

Milner argues that a slight shift away from Luther's comforting doctrine occurs in the Purification sermon by Martin Moller (1547–1606) from 1601.⁴⁵ He says that Moller:

tends to shift the burden of salvation to the initiative of the Christian, who must be ready and able to sing the *Nunc dimittis*: "He grasps the sacred art of dying with fine concision in a little song. ... O see to it, beloved soul, that you seize from this pious elder such a noble art, and learn well to sing his little song."⁴⁶

Yet it is hard to see that telling the believer to sing a song—perhaps even "Mit Fried und Freud," based on the *Nunc dimittis*—is a shift away from *sola fide* towards a doctrine requiring good works. Surely Moller's intention here is not to say that by singing the song, one is saved, but rather that one should sing the song to remind one's self that he is saved by faith, as Luther says Simeon was. Milner's article has a tendency to overstate the differences between Reformation-era theology and that of the seventeenth century in order to support his main thesis, namely, that the juxtaposition of old and new elements in the cantata is significant. As I have said above, however, I find this premise unconvincing.

Though there is little shift in doctrine, there is, however, a clearer shift toward the individual in the work of Johann Gerhard (1582–1637). In his published Purification sermon from 1616, Gerhard writes: "Especially when death begins to knock, we should pull our heart from all creatures and from

⁴⁵ Milner, "Süße Todesstunde," 38.

⁴⁶ Ibid., quoting from Ulrich Meyer, "'Flügel her! Flügel her!'"—Gepredigte Sterbekunst als Hintergrund Bachscher Kantatentexte," *Musik und Kirche* (1993): 259.

everything in this world, [and] turn ourselves to God through prayer.”⁴⁷ Later in the same volume, in

a meditation on Luke 2:29, Gerhard outlines a regimen of daily practice:

1. The heart must be raised to God through prayer and meditation.
[And it also requires:]
2. that one not push back [the thought of] death some few years, but expect this guest every day.
3. that one await [death] patiently, until God requires it of us.
4. that we are found daily in God’s service.
5. that we make our hearts fine, still, and peaceful, and
6. that we embrace Christ, prince of life and conqueror of death, with true faith.⁴⁸

Milner sums up this change: “Gerhard, the orthodox Lutheran, puts the Art of Dying in terms of efforts of the individual without mentioning elements of the Doctrine of Justification.”⁴⁹ Again though, it must be emphasized that this is a shift in focus, rather than a shift in doctrine. The Lutheran position, as articulated in the Augsburg Confession (1530) and the Formula of Concord (1577), remains that the believer is saved through faith alone.⁵⁰

With Heinrich Müller (1631–1675), we see a continued shift in emphasis, away from a focus on salvation, and instead on both world-weariness and joy at the thought of death. In the discussion of

Simeon’s canticle in his *Evangelischer Hertzens-Spiegel* (1679),⁵¹ Müller writes:

⁴⁷ Gerhard, *Postille: Dritter Theil* (1616); translated in Milner, “*Süße Todesstunde*,” 40.

⁴⁸ Meyer, “Gepredigte Sterbekunst,” 261; Milner, “*Süße Todesstunde*,” 41.

⁴⁹ Milner, “*Süße Todesstunde*,” 41.

⁵⁰ Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge* (New York and London: Funk / Wagnalls, 1908–12), 6:277–78; see also Milner, “*Süße Todesstunde*,” 42n31.

⁵¹ For the full text of Müller’s purification sermon, in a nineteenth-century edition, see Heinrich Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzenspiegel* (repr., Hamburg: Rauhen, 1864), 1:542–50. This edition is already the fifth reprinting, attesting to continued popularity of this work.

Simeon's heart was full of joy. The stream of gladness gushed from his mouth: the scripture says "and praised God." So it is when the heart is cheerful, the mouth gives voice. ... Simeon had tasted how sweet Jesus is, therefore at once the world becomes bitter to him, so that he wishes to be released and to be with God. Ah! ... God, he wants to say, I am ready whenever you command that I leave this world. Ah! do your utmost, dear death, I will follow gladly.⁵²

Müller continues, becoming even more passionate, indeed, even sensual:

Finally you should offer to God a world-weary and heaven-desiring heart. When Simeon had the Savior in his arms, and recognized him as the light of the gentiles and the prize of Israel, then to him the world began to stink. Ah! he says, Lord, let now your servant depart in peace. Ah! I am ready in this "now," in this instant. I have tasted, Lord, how sweet you are. Ah! Let me come out of the world to you, and fully taste your sweetness. My heart ... it [i.e., death] says with Simeon, it takes too long, it takes too long. In this "now," in this moment, set me free ... There with Jesus everything is better. Therefore away from this world! Ah! Jesus, come quickly! Come, Lord Jesus! Amen.⁵³

How far we have come from the rather plain account in the Gospel reading itself. Even in just these two quotes, Müller exclaims "Ach!" no less than six times. The original German seems to show him almost breaking down: unable to even complete full sentences, breaking down into comma-separated fragments. At the prospect of death, Müller's emotions transcend joy, crossing almost into desperation. Both death, and being in the presence of the Lord, cannot wait. "Come quickly" (*Komm doch bald!*), says Müller, repeating the refrain "now." No more is death a kind of punishment for sinfulness, as we saw in Luther's articulation, something to be feared; in fact, Müller does not once mention sin in these passages. Instead, death is "freedom," something to be greeted "gladly." For him, "the moment

⁵² Meyer, "Gepredigte Sterbekunst," 261; Milner, "*Süße Todesstunde*," 42.

⁵³ Meyer, "Gepredigte Sterbekunst," 262; Milner, "*Süße Todesstunde*," 42–43; this is the only quote for which Milner gives the lengthy German original, likely to emphasize the impassioned exclamations.

in which the soul [leaves] the body is exactly the moment that it travels to heavenly bliss.”⁵⁴

This world-weariness, and joyful attitude toward death, did not develop for Müller in isolation—he came of age during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48). Surely it is no surprise that the contemplation of the eternal reward of heaven would provide solace, comfort and relief, not from sin as Luther would have it, but from the world itself. No wonder that the world “stinks” in comparison to being in the presence of Jesus. This attitude towards death will transfer directly into the cantata libretti—the operatic idiom only serves to amplify the impassioned expressions of the idealized believer.

Luther’s Chorale “Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin”

The hymn “Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin” was first published in Johann Walther’s *Geystliches gesangk Buchleyn* (Wittenberg, 1524), and its placement in that same volume, between two Epiphany hymns, indicates that it was likely intended for Purification. The text, a paraphrase of the *Nunc Dimittis* (see Table 3.4), is by Luther, and the melody could be as well.⁵⁵ It was, later, used by Luther as both a funeral and burial hymn, and is included in a collection of the latter published by Joseph Klug (Wittenberg, 1542). The chorale circulated widely in the following centuries, and was included in the

⁵⁴ Heinrich Müller, *Gräber der Heiligen* (Frankfurt, 1675), 100, quoted and translated in David Yearsley, “Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude’s Funerary Counterpoints,” *Music & Letters* 80, no. 2 (May 1999): 188.

⁵⁵ “[The melody] has the syncopations typical of sixteenth-century polyphonic *cantus firmi*, and with its bold broad steps, it may well be by Luther” (LW 53:247).

Darmstadt *Gesang-Buch* and Graupner's *Choral-Buch*.⁵⁶

Table 3.4: *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin* (Martin Luther)

| | |
|---|--|
| Mit fried und freud ich fahr dahin ⁵⁷ in GOTTes willen / getrost ist mir mein hertz und sinn / sanfft und stille / wie GOtt mir verheissen hat / der tod ist mein schlaff worden. | With peace and joy I go on my way ⁵⁸ in God's will. My heart and mind are comforted, peaceful and calm. As God promised me death has become my sleep. |
| Das macht Christus / wahr GOTTes Sohn / der treue Heyland: den du mich HErr hast sehen lan / und machst bekandt / daß er sey das leb'n und heyl in noth und auch im sterben. | This is the work of Christ, God's true son, the faithful saviour, whom you, Lord, have allowed me to see and made known that He is our life and salvation in trouble and in dying. |
| Den hast du allen fürgestellt / mit grossen gnaden / zu seinen reich die gantze welt heissen laden / durch dein theures heilsam wort / an allem ort erschollen. | You have set Him before everybody with great mercy, that to His kingdom the whole world may be called and invited through your precious healing Word that has resounded everywhere. |
| Er ist das heyl und seelig licht für die Heyden / zu erleuchten / die dich kennen nicht / und zu weyden: er ist dein's volcks Israel / der preiß / ehr / freud und wonne. | He is salvation and a blessed light for the gentiles, to enlighten those who do not know you, and to give them pasture. For your people Israel He is their reward, honour, joy and delight. |

⁵⁶ Christoph Graupner, *Neu vermehrtes Darmstädtisches Choral-Buch* (Darmstadt, 1728), 102; Christoph Graupner, ed., *Das neueste und vollständigste Darmstädtisches privilegirte Gesang-Buch* (Darmstadt: Klug, 1729), 287.

⁵⁷ Graupner, *Darmstädtisches Gesang-Buch*, 287; spelling, punctuation and capitalization original.

⁵⁸ English translation by Francis Browne, <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Texts/Chorale011-Eng3.htm> (Accessed January 21, 2014).

Though Luther wrote prefaces to several hymnals, in the Klug collection he goes beyond discussing music and articulates a series of reforms to the burial rite, and indeed a theology of dying.⁵⁹ Luther wanted to do away with the sorrowful character of the Catholic funeral rite, and instead wished it to express the believer's "confident trust" in salvation.⁶⁰ "Nor do we sing any dirges [Tawrlied] or doleful songs [Leidegesang] over our dead and at the grave," writes Luther in the preface, "but comforting hymns [tröstliche Lieder] of the forgiveness of sins, of rest, sleep, life, and of the resurrection of departed Christians so that our faith may be strengthened and the people be moved to true devotion."⁶¹ Luther furthermore identifies "Mit Fried und Freud" as one of four chorales suitable for singing "upon returning home from the interment."⁶² Thus we see clearly that the hymn could comfort the dying, be sung at their burial and assuage the mourning of their survivors. In Lutheran theology, a grave is "nothing but a bed of rest" to hold the deceased, who is not dead but merely sleeping.⁶³ Luther furthermore maintained the notion of biological death as the spiritual soul leaving behind the physical body. The body is transformed instead into a pure and perfect spiritual form. As David Yearsley says:

Transfiguration allowed Luther and the orthodox theologians of the next century to promise their followers the resurrection of the body and the complete transcendence of the

⁵⁹ LW 53:325–331; WA 35:478–83.

⁶⁰ LW 53:325.

⁶¹ LW 53:326; WA 35:478–49.

⁶² LW 53:331; WA 35:483.

⁶³ "Das Grab nicht anders, denn als ein sanfft Faul oder Rugebetter zuhalten." LW 53:326; WA 35:478, referencing Matthew 9:24: "the girl is not dead but sleeping."

sentient and sin-wracked nature that had marked existence on earth and its accompanying sorrows, the most fearful of which was death.⁶⁴

Theological use of “Mit Fried und Freud” continued through into the eighteenth century. In his *Evangelischer Lieder-Schatz*, a complete cycle of sermons on a hymn for each day of the liturgical year, Johann Christoph Olearius uses it for Purification.⁶⁵ For Olearius, the chorale is not merely a paraphrase of the canticle of Simeon, it *is* the canticle. Olearius says that “this hymn”—meaning the chorale, apparently—has not only comforted Simeon, but he goes on to list a dozen monarchs, professors and politicians who were also “refreshed in Life and joyfully prepared for death” (im Leben erquicket und zum Sterben freudig bereitet).⁶⁶ For Olearius, it seems, it is the words of the hymn itself that have this power. To give just one example, as all twelve have roughly the same theme:

When Jeremias Saltzer, a mayor of Erfurt ([d.] 1589 AD) learned that he would die in four weeks, he told his wife, children and confessor that they should rejoice on the day of his burial, saying to them: “At that time you will sing *Mit Fried und Freud*.” Indeed, when the hour of his death came, he sang this song himself, and departed joyfully.⁶⁷

The chorale then had not only the power to help Saltzer depart joyfully from this life, but also cheered his family at the time of his burial, no doubt an extension of Luther’s own attitudes toward the funeral

⁶⁴ Yearsley, “Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude’s Funerary Counterpoints,” 187.

⁶⁵ A comprehensive list of German hymn sermons is given in Martin Rössler, *Bibliographie der Deutschen Liedpredigt* (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1976); Olearius’s *Lieder-Schatz* is on pages 132–34.

⁶⁶ Johann Christoph Olearius, *Evangelischer Lieder-Schatz: darim allerhand Auserlesene Gesänge, so sich auff alle Sonn- und Fest-Tags Evangelia schicken* (Jena: Johann Felix Bielcken, 1707), 1:101.

⁶⁷ “6.) Als Jeremias Saltzer/ ein Bürgermeister zu Erffurt A. C. 1589. 4. Wochen vor seinem Ende erfuhr/ daß er sterben sollte/ zeigte er solches seinem Weibe/ Kinder und Beichtvater an/ freuete sich zugleich auff den Begräbnis-Tag und sagte: Alsdenn wird mann mir das Lied: **Mit Fried und Freud &c.** singen. Ja/ als die TodesStunde kam/ sang er dis Lied selbst und verschied darauff frölich” (ibid., 1:102–3).

rite.

Olearius concludes each of his hymn-sermons with a short precis of the hymn's themes. *Mit Fried und Freud* is described as a "joyful swan-song" (see Table 3.5). We can see in Olearius's eighteenth-century description of a sixteenth-century text the same theological shift outlined above. Nowhere in the original Bible text does it say that Simeon longs for death, yet Olearius describes him in such terms. He does not even mention what God's promise to Simeon was; the focus has shifted from salvation to blessed death. For that matter, Olearius does not even use the word death, instead using "homecoming" (Heimfahrt).

Table 3.5: Olearius's Summary of *Mit Fried und Freud*...

| <i>Th.</i> Ein freudiger Schwanen-sang/ ⁶⁸ Darinne enthalten | Theme: A joyful swan-song, Contained therein |
|---|--|
| I. Insonderheit Simeonis Personal-Freude über seine Heimfahrt/ welche a.) er bittet und verlanget/ b.) weil GOtt Ihm solche verheissen c.) und JEsus erworben habe. <i>vers. 1. 2.</i> | I. In particular Simeon's Personal-Joy about his homecoming, which a.) he asks and longs for, b.) because God made him such a promise c.) and Jesus earned it [for him]. Verses 1 and 2 |
| II. Ins gemein/ aller Menschen Freude Welche a.) GOtt bereitet hat allen Völckern/ b.) Durch das Liecht der Heyden/ c.) Zum Preiß des Volckes Israelis. <i>vers. 3. 4.</i> | II. In general, the joy of all people. Which a.) God prepared for all peoples, b.) Through the light of the gentiles, c.) As the prize for the people of Israel. Verses 3 and 4 |
| GOTT lasse es allen Sterbenden einen freudi- gen Schwanen-Gesang seyn! | God lets it be a joyful swan-song for all dying people! |

⁶⁸ Olearius, *Evangelischer Lieder-Schatz*, 1:106.

This chorale is so closely associated with both the deathbed and with burial, simply hearing its distinctive opening could well have inspired such thoughts in the ears of the eighteenth-century listener. By that time, it had already been given many moving musical treatments in honor of the deceased; particularly moving among these is Dieterich Buxtehude's funerary publication *Fried- und Freudenreiche Hinfarth* (Lübeck, 1674), performed in memory of his father.⁶⁹

Nun hab' ich meinen Gott geseh'n, *GWV 1169/14*

In the year 1714, for the period from New Year's Day (January 1) to the third day of Easter (April 3), Graupner's cantata librettist Lehms pursued a unified strategy in the construction of his texts.⁷⁰ Rather than his usual manner, and the manner usual for the genre at large, of alternating a series of recitatives, arias and choruses, Lehms instead designates a pre-existing chorale melody and then writes between two and five stanzas of new text adhering to the meter and rhyme scheme of the original chorale text. Looking at the texts that Lehms writes, we see that the chorale tune is not treated merely as a melodic inspiration; rather the intention of the new texts is to build upon the basic message of the original ones.

In his libretto "Nun hab' ich meinen Gott geseh'n," for Purification 1714, Lehms demonstrates in his poetry the same type of theological shifts in emphasis that we have seen above. The poetic "I" in the first stanza is clearly Simeon, who having just seen Jesus in the temple declares his readiness to

⁶⁹ Yearsley, "Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude's Funerary Counterpoints," 184–85.

⁷⁰ The complete cantata is transcribed in Appendix B, beginning on page 273.

die. Except, as we saw in Olearius, Simeon does not merely acquiesce to death, as in the Bible reading, and indeed in Luther's own writings, instead he longs for it: "therefore I want to die" (denn will ich sterben). Death is not something to be feared by the believer, but to be desired as necessary to inherit the kingdom of heaven, the implied goal of the final three lines of the stanza. As we saw in Olearius—and even in Luther—Lehms takes Simeon as a stand-in for all good Lutherans. In the same way that his faith saved him, it can save the eighteenth-century Lutheran too.

In the second stanza, Lehms picks up on Luther's central concern with consolation ("Trost"), but rather than just comfort, it moves the speaker to joy, even laughter; "sorrowful suffering" (betrübtes Leyd) is turned into joy (Freude machen). The final two lines of this stanza, however, are particularly interesting. Milner argues that by the eighteenth century, "Luther's doctrine of justification [was] so de-emphasized that it had become in many songbooks a pro-forma shell lacking practical substance."⁷¹ However, in Lehms's new text, we see a rather clear invocation of this. Nowhere is it implied that the speaker has justified himself through his works, but rather, the mercy and grace of Jesus, embodied in his glance, is all that is necessary to snatch him from Satan's jaws.

Lehms's third stanza too is more traditionally in line with Luther's sermons on death. The speaker hopes that he will "die well," as distinct from the longing for death itself we saw in the first stanza. Lehms

⁷¹ Milner, "The 'Blessed Death' in the Church Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach," 14; Milner here is largely paraphrasing the argument of Ingeborg Röbbelen (Ingeborg Röbbelen, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957], 260; 315–26).

inverts the imagery of the Bible verse into a metaphor for the comfort of heaven—whereas Simeon held Jesus in his arms, now Jesus will hold the saved believer. It is this comfort that is longed for, that comes from being in the presence of a very personal Jesus, as distinct from some kind of heavenly paradise. Finally, Lehms invokes an arresting image of God/Jesus being present at the celestial pole (*Himmels-Pol*), one that is apparently uncommon in devotional writing from this period.⁷² The evocation of astronomical imagery suggests a scientific outlook, indicating a shift away from the mysticism more characteristic of the seventeenth century. As well, the grammatical construction here is somewhat strained, perhaps so Lehms can maintain the versification of the original chorale.

Table 3.6: *Nun hab' ich meinen Gott geseh'n*, GWV 1169/14

| [1. Choral] | |
|---|---|
| Mel. Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr &c. | |
| Nun hab ich meinen GOTT gesehn, | Now I have seen my God, |
| Drum will ich sterben: | Therefore I want to die: |
| Ach! könnt es doch nur balt geschehn, ⁷³ | Ah! if it could only happen soon, |
| Diß zu erben, | This to inherit, |
| Was mein Hertz und auch mein Sinn | What my heart and also my mind |
| Dort suchet zu erwerben. | There seek to acquire. |
| [2.] Aria (S) | |
| Ach! süßer Trost, der mich erfreut, | Ah! sweet consolation, which makes me glad, |
| Nun kan ich lachen, | Now I can laugh, |
| Und mir auff mein betrübtes Leyd | And for me my sorrowful suffering |
| Freude machen, | Make into joy, |
| Denn nur reißt mich JESU Blick | For only the glance of Jesus snatches me |
| Aus Satans Höllen-Rachen. | From Satan's jaws of hell. |

⁷² My thanks to Mark Peters and Markus Rathey for confirming the unconventionality of this reference.

⁷³ This same line is found in the eighth movement of Bach's Easter Oratorio, BWV 249 in a similar context, namely, referring to death. I have been unable to find a common source for it; perhaps Picander borrowed it from Lehms, or perhaps this is merely coincidental.

[3. Choral. Da Capo.]

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| GOTT Lob und Danck, so sterb ich wohl | Praise and thank God, that I die well |
| In JESUS Armen | In Jesus' arms |
| Und er wird sich am Himmels-Pol | And he will [from his position] at the celestial pole |
| Mein [<i>sic</i> ; mir?] erbarmen, | have mercy [on me], ⁷⁴ |
| Ach! mein JEsu, laß mich doch | Ah! my Jesus, just let me |
| An deiner Brust erwarmen. | Grow warm at your breast. |

Es ist genug, mein matter Sinn, *GWV 1169/45*

Graupner's cantata for Purification 1745 takes as its first and last movements the chorale tune and text "Es ist genug, mein matter Sinn" written by Anton Ulrich, Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1633–1714).⁷⁵ This chorale appears to be unconnected with "Es ist genug, so nimm, Herr, meinen Geist" with which it shares the same textual refrain, and which is perhaps best-known in Bach's setting in BWV 60. Both chorales apparently take this refrain from Elijah's plea in 1 Kings 19:4: "It is enough; now, O Lord, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers" (*Es ist genug, so nimm nun HERR, meine seele; ich bin nicht besser, denn meine väter*).⁷⁶ However, only the former chorale is to be found in the Darmstadt *Gesangbuch* and *Choralbuch*,⁷⁷ and it seems to have had broader circulation across

⁷⁴ My thanks to Mark Peters and Markus Rathey for their assistance in translating these two lines.

⁷⁵ The complete cantata is transcribed in Appendix B, beginning on page 280.

⁷⁶ KJV; Martin Luther, *Biblia: Das ist: die gantze Heil. Schrift Altes und Neues Testaments/ Nach der Teutschen Übersetzung D. Martin Luthers* (Halle: Waysenhouse, 1720), 382.

⁷⁷ Graupner, *Darmstädtisches Gesang-Buch*, 273–74; Graupner, *Darmstädtisches Choral-Buch*, 40.

Germany.⁷⁸ The imagery of this Bible passage, via the chorale text, pervades the cantata libretto. After asking that God take his life, Elijah falls asleep under a juniper tree (1 Kings 19:5); we see this same connection between death and sleep in both verses of the chorale text used in the libretto. We see the same concern about ancestors: Elijah says that he is “not better than his fathers,” and speaker of the chorale text “longs to go where my fathers sleep.” Finally, the seventh movement of the cantata, which sets the sixth verse of the chorale, quotes verbatim from Elijah’s cry, saying: “so take now, Lord, my soul.”

Table 3.7: *Es ist genug, mein matter Sinn*, GWV 1169/45

| [1.] Choral | |
|--|---|
| Es ist genug! mein matter Sinn/ sehnt sich dahin/ wo meine Väter schlaffen: ich hab es endlich guten Fug/ es ist genug/ ich muß mir Ruh verschaffen. | It is enough! my feeble mind longs to go where my fathers sleep: I have at last good justifica- tion, it is enough, I must get peace for myself. |
| [2.] Recitativ[o] | |
| Wer JEsu recht erkennt, Der sucht schon hier auf Erden, Nach JEsu Vorbild rein zu werden; Und er entbrennt In gläubigem Verlangen, Bey dem zu seyn, den seine Seele liebt. Kommt denn der Todes=Both gegangen, So wird er nicht betrübt; Er geht mit Freuden aus der Welt, Weil ihn das Loos dort allzu lieblich fällt. | Who rightly knows Jesus, Who seeks already here on the earth, To become pure in the model of Jesus; And he becomes inflamed with faithful longing, To be with the one whom his soul loves. When the messenger of death comes, He will not be troubled; He goes with joy out of the world, Because there for him fate falls too easily. |
| [3.] Aria | |
| JEsu! meine Glaubens=Arme, | Jesus, the arms of my faith |

⁷⁸ Interestingly, although perhaps coincidentally, Franz Joachim Burmeister (1633–1672), the author of “Es ist genug, so nimm, Herr,” was a preacher in Lüneburg, while Anton Ulrich was Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, though he ruled over its Wolfenbüttel subdivision. (Definitely coincidental is the fact that they were both born in 1633.) This may, however, suggest that Elijah’s lament had particular popularity in this region.

Halten dich recht fest gefaßt.
 Muß ich leiden,
 Muß ich auch von dannen scheiden;
 Ey! ich bin getrost; ich weiß,
 Was du mir zu deinem Preiß,
 Dort bey dir versprochen hast.

Hold you quite firmly.
 Must I suffer,
 Must I also go from here;
 Ah, I am comforted; I know
 That you have promised as your reward
 To be there with you.

[4.] Recitat[ivo]

Kan ich nur dort bey JEsu leben,
 So liegt mir diese Welt,
 Und alles was sie in sich hält,
 Sehr⁷⁹ wenig an.
 Mein JEsus kan mir alles geben,
 Was nur mein Glaube wünschen kan.
 Er ist mein Trost, wenn mich ein Leiden quält,
 Mein Reichthum, wenn mir etwas fehlt.
 Mein Brot in Hungers=Noth.
 Er ist mein Schmuck und Ehren=Kleid,
 In ihm hab' ich Gerechtigkeit,
 Er ist mein Leben in dem Tod.
 Dort gibt er mir den Himmel zum Gewinn.
 Sagt: irre ich, daß ich so gern bey JEsu bin.

If only I can live there with Jesus,
 For me this world,
 And everything in it,
 Means very little.
 My Jesus can give me everything,
 That my faith could wish for.
 He is my comfort, when sorrow stirs in me,
 My wealth when something is wrong in me.
 My bread in famine.
 He is my treasure and my honor-garb,
 In him I have justice,
 He is my life in death.
 He gives me heaven as a prize.
 Tell me: am I wrong to so gladly be with Jesus?

[5.] Aria

Mit Freuden
 Will ich von hinnen scheiden,
 Doch nur wenns GOtt gefällt.
 Soll es noch heut geschehen,
 So werd' ich JEsu sehen,
 Weil sich mein Glaube an ihn hält.

With joy
 Will I depart from here,
 But only if God is pleased.
 Should it happen today,
 that I see Jesus,
 Because my faith abides in him.

[6.] Recitat[ivo]

Wie werd' ich dort⁸⁰
 So still und sicher rasten,
 Wenn ich im hohen Himmels=Port,
 Das Ende aller Leidens=Lasten
 In stoltzer Ruhe sehen werde.
 Komm JEsu! hole mich von dieser schnöden
 Erde.

How will I there
 So still and safely rest,
 When I pass through the high heavenly gates,
 The end of all burdens of suffering
 In quiet rest I'll see.
 Come Jesus, take me from this vile earth.

⁷⁹ Graupner: "gar".

⁸⁰ Graupner: "doch".

[7.] Choral. Da Capo.

| | |
|---|---|
| So nimm nun hin/ HERR! meine Seel/ die ich befehl in deine Hand und Pflege; schreib sie ein in das Lebens=Buch/ Es ist genug! daß ich mich schlaffen lege. | So take now, Lord, my soul, which I commend into your hands and care; write it into the book of life; it is enough, that I go to sleep. |
|---|---|

* * *

In this chapter we have observed the intimate relationship between theology and Graupner's cantatas. While undoubtedly aesthetic works, they were also intended for edification, inspiration and devotion.⁸¹ However, in this chapter, I have likely raised more questions than I have answered. Future work must delve more into Johann Conrad Lichtenberg's texts in particular. Unlike Lehms, Lichtenberg was himself a university-educated theologian and pastor, as well as a noted pietist.⁸² What, if any, differences are there between Lehms's libretti and Lichtenberg's? This will be revealed through detailed comparison of their treatments of the same Sundays and feast days. Only through increased contextualization can we begin to better understand the theological dimensions of the Lutheran liturgical cantata.

⁸¹ See, for instance, the preface to Georg Christian Lehms, *Das singende Lob Gottes In Einem Jahr-Gange Andächtiger und Gottgefälliger Kirch-Music* (Darmstadt: Johann Levin Bachmann, 1712).

⁸² Lichtenberg studied at the University of Halle, a pietist stronghold, in 1711, where he may have worked with August Hermann Francke, one of the leading pietists. He then studied at the pietist-leaning university in Gießen (René Schmidt, "The Christmas Cantatas of Christoph Graupner (1683–1760)" [PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1992], 77,96).

Chapter 4

Performance Practice: Continuo

This chapter, which deals with instrumental performance practice issues, primarily with regard to the continuo group, serves as a companion to Chapter 2. The complete database construction and analysis methodology is detailed there. As with questions of vocal scoring, there is a vast expanse of issues relating to instrumentation in the Graupner cantatas. In this relatively short chapter, I will focus on one particular aspect of instrumental performance practice in the cantatas, namely the use of keyboard instruments. I discuss the installation of a new organ in the Schlosskapelle and speculate on the possibility that the organ and harpsichord may have played together. The existence of additional continuo parts can also serve as an indicator of cantata reperformances in other venues, some quite far away from Darmstadt. Next I survey the five movements that specifically designate a keyboard instrument for

performance. The chapter concludes with a brief reflection on the legacy of instrumental performance in Darmstadt.

The Organ in Graupner's Cantatas

When Graupner arrived in Darmstadt, the organ in the Schlosskirche was a relatively small instrument, built by the Bamberg organ builder Adam Knaudt in 1623.¹ Shortly thereafter the Hannover-based organ builder Christian Vater (1679–1759), who had been an apprentice to Arp Schnitger in Hamburg, was commissioned to build a new organ for the Schlosskirche.² While Bruce Haynes writes that the old organ was “apparently unusable,”³ Vernon Wicker concludes instead that the replacement of the organ was one of Graupner's first “reform measures.”⁴ That the Knaudt instrument was given to another church, and that it is still extant today, suggests that Wicker's scenario is more likely.⁵ However, it may

¹ Vernon Wicker, “Solo Cantatas for Bass by Christoph Graupner” (DMA diss., University of Oregon, 1979), 71; Henry Cutler Fall, “The Passion-Tide Cantatas of Christoph Graupner” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971), 55–56. This organ had only six registers, a single manual and no pedal.

² Hans Martin Balz, “Die Orgel von Christian Vater für die Darmstädter Schloßkirche: Ein wiederentdeckter Originalentwurf,” *Ars Organi* 29 (1981): 26. This is the same Vater who, fifteen years later, would go on to build the large organ in the Amsterdam Oude Kerk.

³ Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of “A”* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 217 and n. 147. Haynes cites a personal communication with Oswald Bill as the source of this information.

⁴ Vernon Wicker, “Die Kirchenkantaten Christoph Graupners,” in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 378.

⁵ After the Knaudt organ was dismantled, it was moved first to Zwingenberg and then to Worfelden. Though the instrument has been modified, it was evidently still playable in 1968, and viewable in 1991 (Fall, “Passion-Tide Cantatas,” 56; René Schmidt, “The Christmas Cantatas of Christoph Graupner (1683–1760)” [PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1992], 28n76).

not have been Graupner himself who initiated the commission, but instead the Landgrave. At the same time, Ernst Ludwig was also engaged in a significant remodeling of the castle, and the installation of a new organ could have been part of this. Even though this was one of Vater's earliest organs, the quality was evidently very high. Furthermore, the specification and manual/pedal configuration mark it as among the largest organs in Hessen-Darmstadt in the eighteenth century (see Table 4.2).⁶

In Germany at this time, it was common for organs to be built at a different pitch level than the orchestral instruments.⁷ In Leipzig, the organs at the Thomaskirche and the Nikolaikirche were both at Chorton, a whole tone higher than the orchestral instruments at Kammerton.⁸ At a result, J. S. Bach's regular practice was to transpose the figured continuo parts down a whole tone, so that they would sound at the same pitch level as the strings and winds. The situation was even more complex for C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg, where the organs in the five principal churches were at three different pitch levels: Kammerton, Chorton, and hoch Chorton.⁹ Since, unlike Leipzig, the different Hamburg

⁶ Balz, "Die Orgel von Christian Vater," 29. The full specification, based on a then-newly-rediscovered draft by Vater, is given in *ibid.*, 27 and repeated in Wicker, "Die Kirchenkantaten Christoph Graupners," 379.

⁷ The organ in St. Jacobi in Hamburg, built by Arp Schnitger in 1689–93, was apparently pitched at Chorton; see Christoph Wolff and Markus Zepf, *The Organs of J. S. Bach: A Handbook*, trans. Lynn Edwards Butler (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 36–37. While this is probably too early for Vater to have been in Schnitger's workshop—he was only 14 when the instrument was completed—it does provide contemporary information about the pitch level of Schnitger's instruments. While we do not know Graupner's involvement, if any, with the Principal Churches in Hamburg, it is likely he was at least aware of this instrument.

⁸ Lawrence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group: Players and Practices in his Vocal Works* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 7.

⁹ In Bruce Haynes's comprehensive treatment of the history of performing pitch, he refers to the various pitch levels by their approximate semitone distance from our modern A (440 Hz); thus, Kammerton is A-1 and Chorton is A+1 (Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, xxix, li–liii). Since I am not presently concerned with the absolute pitch level, I will refer only to written transpositions by their distance from Kammerton.

organs were at different pitch levels, the presence (or absence when we might expect their presence) of continuo parts at different transposition levels can tell us where a given work may have been performed.

While in Darmstadt the vast majority of cantatas, especially after 1711, have only one, untransposed figured continuo part, In a few early cantatas, there are two figured continuo parts, one of which is transposed by a whole tone, as Friedrich Noack has noted.¹⁰ Unfortunately, Noack's misstatements about the direction of the transposition of early continuo parts have confused later scholars. He writes that "the organ in the Schlosskirche stood in Chorton, that is a whole tone lower than the orchestral instruments."¹¹ In fact, the transposition works in exactly the opposite direction: an organ in Chorton would be pitched a whole tone *higher* than the orchestral instruments, which were in Kammerton.¹² Noack then continues on to misstate the transposition of the continuo parts themselves, saying that they were transposed up a whole tone, or in some cases up a minor third.¹³ In fact, the transposition of the parts is in exactly the opposite direction. In *Meine Seufzer, meine Klagen*, GWV 1154/09b for example, the score and the string parts are written in E minor, and there are two extant figured continuo

¹⁰ Friedrich Noack, *Christoph Graupner als Kirchenkomponist: Ausführungen zu Band LI/LII der Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, erste Folge, und Verzeichnis sämtlicher Kantaten Graupners*, ed. Hans Joachim Moser, Beihefte zu den Denkmälern deutscher Tonkunst 1 (1926; Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1960), 33. Schmidt notes, with apparent frustration, that Noack does not specify which cantatas he is referring to (Schmidt, "Christmas Cantatas," 308–9).

¹¹ "Die Orgel der Schloßkirche stand in Chorton, also einen Ganzton tiefer als die Orchesterinstrumente" (Friedrich Noack, *Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik am landgräflichen Hofe zu Darmstadt* [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916], 31).

¹² Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, 183ff. It is possible that Noack has been confused by the switch in German terminology from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century; formerly Chorton referred to low pitch, but ca. 1700, the meanings swap.

¹³ Noack, *Graupners Kirchenmusiken*, 31; Noack, *Graupner als Kirchenkomponist*, 33.

parts, one also in E minor, and an additional part in D minor, that is to say, transposed *down* a whole tone. When played on an organ in Chorton, it would have sounded at the same pitch level as the rest of the instruments.

In Table 4.3 I have listed all twenty-five of the cantatas with one or more transposed continuo part extant. As the table shows, fifteen of these twenty-five parts are clustered in the years 1709–11; the existence of a transposed part is sporadic thereafter. Given that these years exactly match the period from the time the new Vater organ was commissioned until the time of its completion, it is logical to assume that there is some connection between the unavailability of the primary organ and the transposed parts. The final cantata from 1711 with a transposed continuo part is GWV 1149/11, which was performed on Trinity 8 (July 26). The documentation for the payments to Vater states that he was paid for his expenses until September 14, 1711.¹⁴ There is then a gap in cantata composition until the performance of *Nehmet euch untereinander auf*, GWV 1102/11a on Advent 2 (December 6) of that same year.

The following situation thus seems most likely. When Graupner first arrived in Darmstadt, the cantatas were performed using the old Knaudt organ, for which transposed continuo parts were required. However, the construction of the new organ must have made it difficult, if not impossible, to conduct performances inside the court chapel itself. Possibly, then, the cantatas were performed at another church in Darmstadt (perhaps the Stadtkirche, located on the other side of the Marktplatz

¹⁴ “[V]or Kostgeld ist Zahlt vom 3. 7bris 1710 biß den 14t. 9bris 1711 laut q.tierter specification 710 fl...” (Balz, “Die Orgel von Christian Vater,” 28).

from the Schloss, see Figure 1.2; the Stadtkirche is on the far right) and transposed continuo parts were necessary for that organ. When cantata performances resumed in December 1711, some or all of the gap in performances resulting from the inaccessibility of the chapel due to organ construction, the preparation of transposed continuo parts ceased. Noack, assuming that the organ must have been at a higher pitch, concludes that this means the organist must therefore have transposed by sight from that point on.¹⁵ Haynes, on the other hand, suggests that at least one of the stops on the Vater organ must have been in Kammerton.¹⁶ However, when looking at the full specification (Table 4.2), it is evident that there is not the duplication of stops, especially in the eight-foot range, that would suggest the presence of a Kammerton stop.¹⁷ I argue that both Noack and Haynes are incorrect, and that the most likely situation is that the entire organ was pitched in Kammerton.¹⁸

The likely explanation for the existence of later transposed continuo parts for ten cantatas from 1713 until 1731 is also that they were performed outside the Schlosskirche. This was definitely the case

¹⁵ Noack, *Graupners Kirchenmusiken*, 31.

¹⁶ Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch*, 218.

¹⁷ Wolff and Zepf, *The Organs of J. S. Bach* lists a total of seventy-four instruments, of them, only one, in the Merseburg Cathedral, contains, according to Jakob Adlung, individual stops at Kammerton. In this case, the three Kammerton stops all duplicate pitch-levels and stop-types already found elsewhere in the instrument at Chorton. On other instrument, in the Mühlhausen Marienkirche, contains couplers that allow the organ to play in Kammerton.

¹⁸ Of the seventy-four instruments in Wolff and Zepf, *The Organs of J. S. Bach*, there are four instruments that are entirely in Kammerton: Dresden Sophienkirche (Silbermann, 1720), Dresden Frauenkirche (Silbermann, 1732), Gera Schlosskapelle (Finke, 1719), and Köthen Schlosskirche (Zuberbier, 1731). (The remaining sixty-eight instruments are either in Chorton, or the pitch is unknown.) I do not believe it is a coincidence that all of these organs are built within a few years of one another, around the same time as the Vater organ in Darmstadt. Furthermore, two of the four are in Schlosskirchen. Another organ, by Vater's teacher Arp Schnitger, for the Charlottenburg Schlosskapelle (1706) is also pitched entirely at Kammerton.

for *Nicht uns Herr*, GWV 1153/23 (originally written for Trinity 12 [August 15], 1723) and *Ich will in ihnen wohnen*, GWV 1138/25 (originally for Pentecost [May 20], 1725) were both reperformed in Worms, on July 31, 1725, for the consecration of the Dreifaltigkeitskirche.¹⁹ Other than Graupner's Leipzig audition, I am unaware of any other performances of his cantatas outside of Darmstadt. This does nevertheless suggest something about his wider fame—when Worms needed a composer for an important celebration, they called upon Graupner.²⁰ The three last cantatas with extant transposed continuo parts, GWV 1175/26a, 1175/31a and 1175/31c, are all for funeral services. Given that these were large public events, it also seems likely that they were not performed in the relatively small Schlosskirche, but in a larger venue, perhaps the Stadtkirche. This leaves five cantatas for which there is no documentation of a non-Schlosskirche performance, but the possibility remains open.

Organ vs Harpsichord

Noack suggests that Graupner himself might have played the organ in the cantata performances.²¹ However, it seems more likely that the court's full-time organist would have assumed this role. Throughout

¹⁹ This is noted in a typed insertion in the folders containing the cantata sources. A handwritten note, possibly by Oswald Bill, in the Darmstadt library's copy of Noack's catalogue directs the reader to the "Wormbsisches Denckmahl, [*sic*] 1725 Sign: 43/3460" (Noack, *Graupner als Kirchenkomponist*, 44, 45).

²⁰ The documents related to the Worms performances, including printed text booklets, are transcribed and/or reprinted in Oswald Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken Christoph Graupners in Darmstadt," in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 149–56.

²¹ Noack, *Graupners Kirchenmusiken*, 31.

Graupner's Darmstadt tenure, an organist was always on the payroll: Johann Nikolaus Asmus (1706–1712, substitute?), Johann Philipp Jung (1719–1751, initially an assistant) and Jakob Friedrich Greiß (1751–1769).²² Gottfried Grünewald also played the organ on occasion.²³ But what if instead Graupner resumed his role at the Hamburg opera, and performed on the harpsichord?²⁴ Schmidt says that the existence of some parts labeled “Organo” means that the organ was always used.²⁵ This could mean exactly the opposite though—that in order to use the organ, it needed to be specifically specified. I do not think this was actually the case, for it would suggest that the new organ in the church almost always remained silent, but it does show that the heading of the parts in a cantata cannot be taken as a definite indication of what was done in the majority of the others.²⁶

Fall makes an even more emphatic statement, writing that “The keyboard continuo instrument employed in the Graupner cantatas was invariably the organ. There is no evidence anywhere, in music or in contemporary documents, for the use of cembalo in performances of church music in Darmstadt.”²⁷

It is unclear what Fall means by “no evidence.” First, and most directly, there are four cantatas with

²² Elisabeth Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit*, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 8 (Mainz: B. Schott, 1967), 300.

²³ Ursula Kramer, “The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt,” in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2011), 356.

²⁴ Lawrence Dreyfus has argued that some of Bach's cantatas in Leipzig may have been performed with organ and harpsichord simultaneously (Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group*, 57–58).

²⁵ Schmidt, “Christmas Cantatas,” 29n78.

²⁶ For more on these parts, see the section beginning on page 141.

²⁷ Fall, “Passion-Tide Cantatas,” 55.

parts specifically labeled “Cembalo” (Table 4.1). Again, though, the existence of a handful of labeled parts does not necessarily make a clear statement about what may have been done in the vast majority of remaining cantatas. Only in eight cases are there two figured parts labeled “continuo,” plus two more if one includes unfigured parts. Second, in 1711, at the same time the final payment was made to Vater for the new organ, an additional 50 florins was paid to Vater for “an instrument for the Kapellmeister.”²⁸ This sum, equivalent to roughly 33 Reichstaler, is far too small for an organ, but would be reasonable for a harpsichord.²⁹ Furthermore, we know that Vater, in addition to building organs, also built harpsichords.³⁰ It is thus most likely that this instrument was one of two harpsichords acquired by the court at this time.³¹ Perhaps one of the instruments was for the Schlosskirche, and Graupner himself used it for cantata performances from time to time.

Table 4.1: Cantatas With “Cembalo” Parts

| Year | GWV | Title |
|------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 1714 | 1121/14 | Gott will mich auch probieren |
| 1714 | 1101/14 | Hosianna Jesus ziehet bei uns ein |
| 1715 | 1118/15 | Will ich rechte Freude spüren |
| 1725 | 1165/25 | Werter Jesu ach wie lange |

²⁸ The *Kammerrechnung* of 1711 states: “Dem Orgelmacher Anton [*sic*] Vater aus Hannover ... den 14 April vor Ein Instrument for Hochfürstl. ... Herrschaft 70 rth. und wegen eines Instruments vor den Capellmeister 50 fl.” (Balz, “Die Orgel von Christian Vater,” 28).

²⁹ The total cost of the 1711 Vater organ was about 1,500 Reichstaler (*ibid.*).

³⁰ Hans Klotz, “Vater, Christian,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 13, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29075>.

³¹ Christoph Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken: Studien zur Darmstädter Hofmusik und thematischer Katalog* (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 22; Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 193.

“Organo” Parts

The vast majority of figured continuo parts in the Graupner cantatas are labeled simply that, “Continuo”. However, in thirty-nine cases, all dating from between 1723 and 1741, there is an extant part labeled “Organo” (see Table 4.4). All but five of these cantatas are from the years 1723–28. In all but two cases, these parts are figured as well. Schmidt suggests that the reason the parts are clustered in these years is a result either of scribal inconsistency, or means that harpsichord was the usual continuo instrument, with the exceptional use of organ being indicated through a change in heading.³² However, the extant “Organo” part for *Nicht uns Herr*, GWV 1153/23 (originally written for Trinity 12 [August 15], 1723) may have been prepared for its repeat performance in 1725. It could certainly be the case that this additional, transposed and figured continuo part, labeled “Organo,” was not used in the original Darmstadt performance, instead it was prepared specially for the church in Worms, which could well have had an organ at Chorton.³³ Since there are only two other figured and transposed “Organo” parts, which date from after 1723 but before the 1725 performance in Worms, they could also have been reperformed there, necessitating the new parts. Or, alternatively, they may have been performed in another church outside of Darmstadt, the record of which does not survive. Regardless, it is an exceptional circumstance to have a transposed and figured part labeled “Organo.”

³² Schmidt, “Christmas Cantatas,” 309.

³³ Bill (?) suggests the same possibility with a handwritten note in the Darmstadt library’s copy of Noack: “431/19 (1723), viell. f. die Auff. in Worms ausgefertigt” (Noack, *Graupner als Kirchenkomponist*, 33).

On the other hand, the cantatas from 1752 onward seem more likely to indicate that a shift in scribal practice took place. Beginning on Easter Tuesday (April 4) 1752, the first new cantata Graupner composed that year, every cantata that Graupner wrote until he stopped writing cantatas in 1754 contains a figured, untransposed part labeled “Organo”.³⁴ Absent additional external evidence, one can only speculate about why this shift may have taken place. One possibility is that this was during the time that Graupner’s health was gradually declining, leading to his eventual blindness. Perhaps his vice Kapellmeister, Johann Samuel Endler, was taking a greater role in the preparation of the parts and implemented this change.

The Obligato Organ

Freuet euch mit den Fröhlichen, GWV 1113/12 was first performed on Epiphany 2 (January 17), 1712 and was therefore one of the first cantatas performed after the Vater organ was completed in the Schlosskapelle. In the second movement, a soprano aria on the somber text “Ah, life is cold and dead,” Graupner writes, under the first staff of the system (in alto clef) the inscription “Org: Vox Human:” (Figure 4.1). Though there are no extant performing parts for this cantata, it is possible it was played by the organist directly from the score and the Vater organ did have an 8’ Vox Humana stop located in the

³⁴ The final cantata from 1751, *Das ist das ewige Leben*, GWV 1107/51 for December 27, contains a figured part with the heading “Continuo” and an unfigured part with the heading “Organo”. Perhaps this marks the one transitional piece between the former practice of designating the figured continuo part “Continuo”. There is a gap of roughly six weeks between this cantata and the previous new cantata before it, *Warum toben die Heiden?*, GWV 1164/51.



Figure 4.1: Graupner, 2. “Ach, die Lieb ist kalt und tod,” *Freuet euch mit den Fröhlichen*, GWV 1113/12, mm. 1–5. (Autograph score)



Figure 4.2: Graupner, 3. “Ach wie oft ist mein Gewissen,” *Fleisch und Geist*, GWV 1123/12, mm. 1–7. (Autograph score)

Brustwerk (see Table 4.2). It thus seems likely that Graupner was trying to show off the timbral beauty of the newly installed instrument by pairing this stop in a duet with the voice in the same register.

Elsewhere I have discussed the use of the organ in cantata performances as a substitute, sometimes at the last-minute, for a missing instrumentalist.³⁵ In at least one case, it appears that Graupner did the same thing. The third movement of *Fleisch und Geist stimmt nicht zusammen*, GWV 1123/12 for

³⁵ Evan Cortens, “‘Ein Musikdirektor hat an einem Instrumente Mangel’: Obbligato Organ in the Bach Cantatas,” in *SECM in Brooklyn, 2010: Topics in Eighteenth-Century Music I*, ed. Margaret R. Butler and Janet K. Page (Ann Arbor, MI: Steglein Publishing, 2014), 52–77.

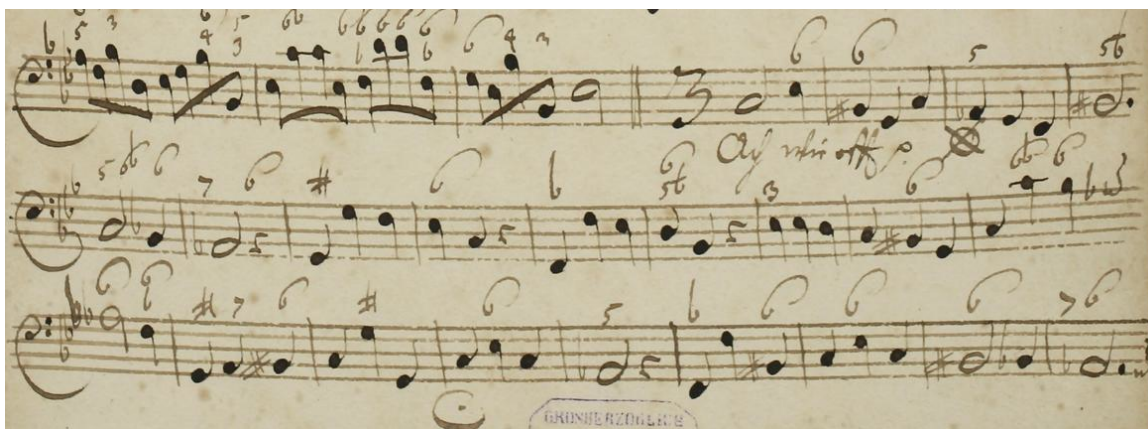


Figure 4.3: Graupner, 3. “Ach wie oft ist mein Gewissen,” *Fleisch und Geist*, GWV 1123/12, mm. 1–22. (“Continuo” part)

Laetare (March 6), 1712, is a triple-meter aria in C minor, for bass voice. In the autograph score, the organ part is laid out on three staves, with (from top to bottom) treble, bass and bass clefs. The middle staff is texted—clearly the bass voice part. The bottom line is certainly the continuo, although there are no figures present.³⁶ The top line, however, has “Pro Org:” written above it, meaning that the treble staff should be played by the organist’s right hand (Figure 4.2). The original performance parts appear to survive complete, but this treble-staff line is not present in any part. There is, however, a fully figured continuo part for the movement, with only the bass line (Figure 4.3). Though carefully copied and figured by Graupner himself, the treble part is not indicated. Furthermore, the presence of figures would make seem to imply that the organist’s right hand would be realizing them, rather than playing an obbligato line. The most likely performance scenario would seem to be that the organist played

³⁶ Though Graupner occasionally has figures in the score, more often they are only entered into the parts.

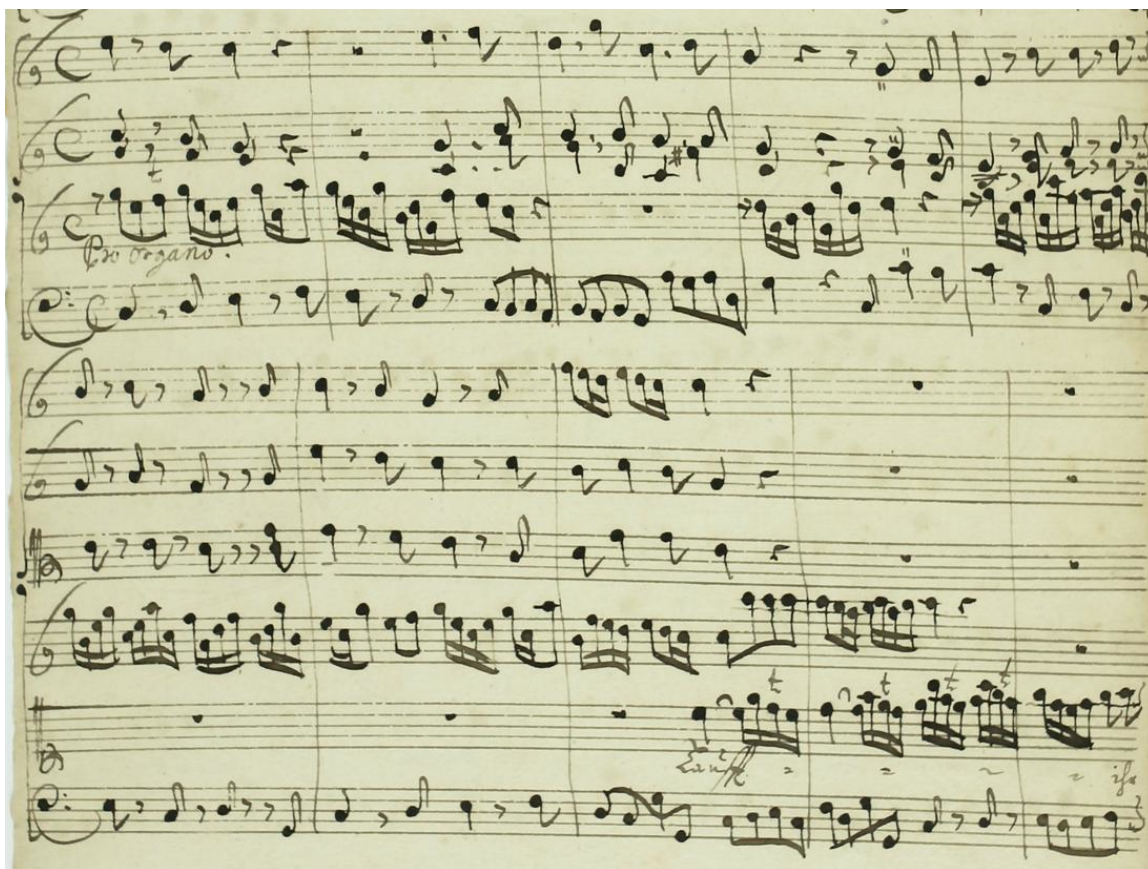


Figure 4.4: Graupner, 2. “Lauft ihr eitlen Lebens-Studen,” *Ach Herr lehre mich bedenken*, GWV 1157/13, mm. 1–10. (Autograph score)

directly from the score, with the left hand doubling the continuo bass and the right hand playing the treble part. This would mean that either an additional instrument would have realized the continuo, or it would have gone unrealized for this movement.

In the cantata *Ach Herr lehre mich bedenken*, GWV 1157/13 for the Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity (October 1), 1713, Graupner again makes explicit reference to the organ in the autograph score. This cantata is for solo soprano and after an initial chorale (in which the soprano sings the chorale melody

against a figural accompaniment for the full orchestra), it consists of a series of recitative and aria pairs.

The third movement, an aria set in C major in common time begins on the second full page of score (Figure 4.4). It is possible that here too, the obbligato part of the organ part was a late addition. The

first system of the aria consists of four staves, the first three with treble clefs and the fourth with a bass clef. Rather than his usual practice of giving the two violins and their own staves, with two treble clefs and an alto clef respectively, Graupner squeezes the viola part onto the second treble-clef staff, below the second violin part. This makes the third staff available for the treble part, below which Graupner has written “Pro organo.” By the second system of the aria, the score is more conventionally laid out.

The system now consists of six staves, as follows: violin 1 (treble); violin 2 (treble); viola (alto); organ obbligato (treble); voice (soprano); continuo (bass).³⁷ As in GWV 1123/12, the treble part for the organ in the third movement of GWV 1157/13 is not entered into any of the extant performance parts. Again this means the most likely performance scenario is that the organist, or perhaps even the composer, played directly from the score. However, unlike the previous example, in this case, there are no figures in any of the continuo parts, making the possibility of dual continuo less likely, but also suggesting the possibility of a missing part.

³⁷ The violin parts in this movement may also have been doubled by oboes. Not uncommon for Graupner, there are no separate oboe parts for this cantata; instead the doubling configuration is indicated directly in the score. In the final movement of the cantata, above the top staff in the system, Graupner uses “H.” to indicate oboes alone, alternating with “Tutti.” These indications are then transferred into the violin parts, which the oboes must therefore have shared with the violins. In every other movement, however, there are no alternation indications, leaving the question of doubling ambiguous.



Figure 4.5: Graupner, *Sehet zu dass ihr vorsichtig wandelt*, GWV 1121/16; D-DS Mus. ms. 424/08, ff. 3r–4v.

In composing *Sehet zu dass ihr vorsichtig wandelt*, GWV 1121/16 for Reminiscere Sunday (March 8), 1716, Graupner was evidently working much more quickly than usual. In the course of composition, he evidently knocked over the ink reservoir, spilling it all over two pages (Figure 4.5). The spill must have happened after the composition of the first and second movements, but before the third, as the latter has been carefully placed around the ink spill, starting further down the page and indented from the left margin (Figure 4.6). An additional sign of hasty composition is that the original clef of

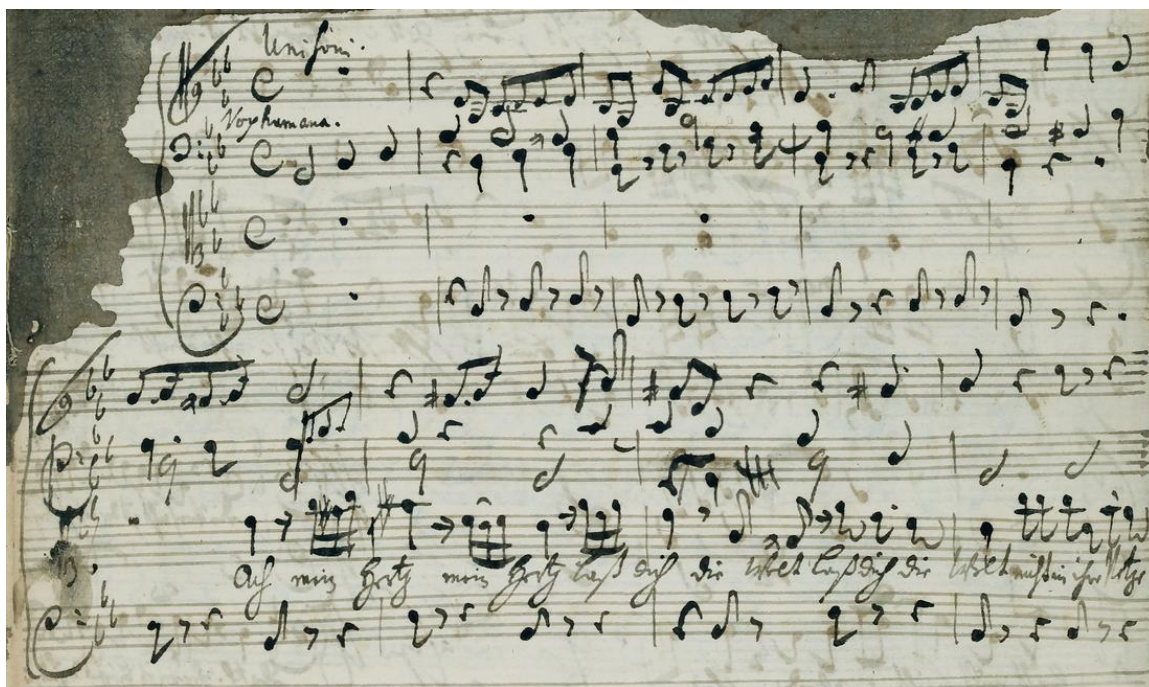


Figure 4.6: Graupner, 3. “Ach! mein Hertz, laß dich die Welt,” , *Sehet zu dass ihr vorsichtig wandelt*, GWV 1121/16, mm. 1–9.

what ultimately becomes the violin staff appears to have been a soprano clef. Though it is somewhat difficult to tell from the digital reproduction, there also appear to be two separate colors of ink here. This is particularly in the second staff of the second system: in the first three measures, the lower voice is brown against the upper voice’s black, and in m. 8, the black ink was used to recompose the original brown version.

In this example of an obbligato organ explicitly indicated in the score, there is an extant performance part containing the obbligato line, transposed up two octaves. The part, in Graupner’s hand, contains only this movement, and only the treble part, with the heading “Aria. Ach mein / Hertz *p*” in the top left



Figure 4.7: Graupner, 3. "Ach! mein Hertz, laß dich die Welt," , *Sehet zu dass ihr vorsichtig wandelt*, GWV 1121/16 ("H.S." Part).

corner and “H. S.” to the right of it. In later gray pencil, matching the overall foliation, someone (likely a later librarian or cataloguer) has written “(Hautbois solo)” to the right of “H. S.” The paper for this part is lighter in color and Graupner’s hand is clearly different (later?) than the score and other parts. However, it does appear to match both the paper and handwriting found in the violin insert-leaves and one alto doublette for another cantata, *Viele sind berufen*, GWV 1117/13. In this earlier instance, the insert-leaves appear to indicate a later reperformance, and that could be the case here too.³⁸ Given that the “hautbois solo” clarification is clearly a later addition, and that the use of “H. S.” in a part heading appears to be unique, is it possible something else was intended? Alternatively, the organ part could well have been played from the score in the first performance, and the new part was prepared for a later performance on oboe.³⁹

Evidently working so quickly on a score was not Graupner’s usual *modus operandi*. In *Der vollkommene Kappellmeister*, Mattheson writes:

I must rightly praise here the Herr Kapellmeister Christoph Graupner of Darmstadt, whose scores are so neatly written that they could compete with a copperplate engraving. He has recently sent several of these to me, where much significant beauty is found, and wrote at the same time the following sensible words: I have gradually become accustomed to write my scores as clearly as possible so that I do not have to correct them, in order to be helpful

³⁸ The watermark of the additional parts in GWV 1117/13 is “Baselstab 7” in the Darmstadt watermark catalogue. Though the color matches the “H. S.” part in GWV 1121/16, the watermark cannot be determined from the scanned image. The violin insert-leaves in GWV 1117/13 contain a figural part belonging to a chorale movement, the melody of which is already contained in the regular violin part. Since the original part is not crossed out and a new line written into the same physical part, this seems to suggest that the inserted parts were composed later.

³⁹ A similar transfer of an obbligato line from organ to wind instrument can be observed in BWV 170/3 (Cortens, “Ein Musikdirektor hat an einem Instrumente Mangel,” 56-60).

for the copyist in case he is not musical and to be above the irksome daily corrections. It is indeed somewhat more trouble but I seldom write until my thoughts are complete.⁴⁰

Not only does Graupner say that he makes a special effort to write legibly, he seems also to imply that he does not sketch or draft. Schmidt endorses this interpretation, saying that “All of the autograph scores are fair copies (Reinschrift); apparently Graupner destroyed all of his sketches (Konzeptschrift) for none are known to survive.”⁴¹ There does, however, appear to be at least one sketch, or at least a draft. In one of Graupner’s last cantatas, the various parts are only sketched out, sometimes only partial measures are indicated (Figure 4.8).

The final example comes from the cantata *Erfreue uns wieder*, GWV 1155/24 first performed on Trinity 14 (September 10), 1724. For the sixth movement, a bass aria in 6/8 set in C major, Graupner lays out the staff rather unconventionally (Figure 4.9). Consisting of seven staves, the fourth and fifth staves, which have soprano and bass clefs respectively, are grouped together with a brace, indicating that they contain a single part, clearly for a keyboard instrument. The character of this keyboard part is very different than the other four examples: the use of virtuosic thirty-second-note arpeggiations contrasts strongly with a line that could be transferred to an oboe. As well, the character of this part might fit more comfortably on a harpsichord than on the organ. That is to say that the character of the piece more closely resembles a partita written for the harpsichord. This does not, however, preclude the

⁴⁰ Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739), 481; trans in Schmidt, “Christmas Cantatas,” 61–62.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, identified as the autograph score for a continuo part, f. 9v. The page is divided into two systems of staves. The top system consists of ten staves, and the bottom system also consists of ten staves. The notation is written in a historical style, featuring various note values, rests, and clefs. The first staff of the top system is labeled "Carinh." and the second staff is labeled "Clav." The notation includes many beamed notes and rests, suggesting a complex rhythmic pattern. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

Figure 4.8: Graupner, *Lasset unsere Bitte vor*, GWV 1174/54, autograph score, f. 9v.



Figure 4.9: Graupner, 6. “Opfre Seele, deine Gabe,” *Erfreue uns wieder*, GWV 1155/24, mm. 1–11.

possibility of a performance on the organ. We might speculate that the following situation took place.

The organist would have realized the continuo from the extant figured continuo part while Graupner himself engaged in a showy display of virtuosity from the harpsichord.

Table 4.2: Specification of the 1711 Vater Organ⁴²**Manual**

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| 1. Principal | 8' |
| 2. Quintaden | 16' |
| 3. Rohrfloit | 8' |
| 4. Octava | 4' |
| 5. Quinta | 3' |
| 6. Octav | 2' |
| 7. Mixtur | IV |
| 8. Dulcian | 16' |
| 9. Trompet | 8' |
| 10. Trichter Regal | 8' |

Brust

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| 1. Principal | 4' |
| 2. Gedact | 8' |
| 3. Spitzfloist | 4' |
| 4. Nassat | 3' |
| 5. Waltflöit | 2' |
| 6. Siefloit | 1' |
| 7. Sesquialtera | |
| 8. Vox humana | 8' |

Pedal

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| 1. Subbas | 16' |
| 2. Octava | 8' |
| 3. Nachthorn | 2' |
| 4. Posaun | 16' |
| 5. Trompet | 8' |
| 6. Cornet | 2' |

⁴² Balz, "Die Orgel von Christian Vater," 27.

Table 4.3: Cantatas with Transposed Continuo Parts

| GWV | Title | Bc Transposition(s) ⁴³ |
|----------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1148/09 | Süßer Tod | 0, -1, -1.5 |
| 1153/09a | Mich überfällt mein Kreuz | 0, -1.5 |
| 1153/09b | Ach was soll ich Sünder machen | 0, -1.5 |
| 1154/09b | Meine Seufzer meine Klagen | 0, -1 |
| 1155/09a | Wo willst du hin betäubte Seele | 0, -1.5 |
| 1157/09a | Der Mensch vom Weibe geboren | 0, -1 |
| 1157/09b | Bestelle dein Haus denn du mußt sterben | 0, -1.5 (later?) |
| 1162/09 | Siehe selig ist der Mensch | 0, -1 (later?) |
| 1111/10 | Nimm mein Herze zum Geschenke ⁴⁴ | -1, -2.5 |
| 1169/10 | Wir wandeln im Glauben | 0, -1 |
| 1140/11 | Der Herr ist mein Hirt | 0, -1.5 |
| 1139/11 | In meinem Blute liegt dein Leben | 0, -1 |
| 1146/11 | Mein Sorgenschiff | 0, -1.5 |
| 1171/11 | Ich singe meinen Gott zu ehren | 0, -1 |
| 1149/11 | Ereifer dich gerechter Himmel | 0, -1.5 |
| 1125/13 | Jesus stirbt | 0 ('Violone'), -1.5 |
| 1129/18 | Ermuntre dich betrübter Geist | 0, -1 |
| 1128/21 | Nun ist auferstanden | 0, -1 |
| 1153/23 | Nicht uns Herr ⁴⁵ | 0, -1 ('Organo') |
| 1115/24 | Gott führt die Seinen wunderbar | 0 (undesig.), -1 ('Organo') |
| 1121/24 | Seid fröhlich in Hoffnung | 0 (undesig.), -1 ('Organo') |
| 1138/25 | Ich will in ihnen wohnen ⁴⁶ | 0, -1 |
| 1175/26a | Unsers Herzens Freude hat ein Ende | 0 (unfig.), -1.5 |
| 1175/31a | Herr wenn ich nur dich habe | 0 ('Violone'), -1 |
| 1175/31c | Selig sind die Toten die in dem Herrn sterben | 0 ('Violone'), -1 |

⁴³ All parts are designated "Continuo" and figured, unless otherwise specified. Transposition is indicated using the number of whole tones away from Kammerton, negative numbers indicating downward transposition.

⁴⁴ This cantata lacks a Kammerton continuo part; it also has full set of string parts (vn1, vn2, vla, vc, vne), in addition to a continuo part, in A major, which suggests a reperformance of the entire cantata transposed down a fourth from the original D major, possibly with bass instead of soprano.

⁴⁵ Reperformed in Worms on July 31, 1725, for consecration of Dreifaltigkeitskirche.

⁴⁶ Reperformed in Worms on July 31, 1725, for consecration of Dreifaltigkeitskirche.

Table 4.4: Cantatas With “Organo” Parts

| Year ⁴⁷ | GWV | Title | Remarks |
|--------------------|---------|--|---|
| 1723 | 1121/23 | Wir ermahnen euch lieben Brüder | unfig. |
| 1723 | 1153/23 | Nicht uns Herr ⁴⁸ | 2 fig. bc pts: “Continuo”; “Organo” (whole tone lower) |
| 1723 | 1104/23 | Das ist das ewige Leben | |
| 1724 | 1115/24 | Gott führt die Seinen wunderbar | 2 fig. bc pts: “Continuo”; “Organo” (whole tone lower) |
| 1724 | 1121/24 | Seid fröhlich in Hoffnung | 2 fig. bc pts: undesig. “Organo” (whole tone lower) |
| 1725 | 1108/25 | Wo zween oder drei versammelt sind | |
| 1726 | 1118/26 | Ermuntert euch ihr trägen Herzen | |
| 1726 | 1120/26 | Rüste dich mein Geist zu kämpfen | |
| 1726 | 1150/26 | Machet euch Freunde mit dem un- gerechten Mammon | |
| 1726 | 1151/26 | Bessre dich Jerusalem | |
| 1726 | 1156/26 | Sorget nicht für den andern Morgen | |
| 1726 | 1102/26 | Heulet denn des Herrn Tag ist nahe | |
| 1726 | 1174/26 | Frohlockt laßt frohe Lieder hören | |
| 1727 | 1114/27 | Herr wie du willst so will auch ich | |
| 1727 | 1117/27 | Gott hat uns selig gemacht | |
| 1727 | 1121/27 | Wisset daß euer Glaube | 2 fig. bc pts: undesig. + in- compl.; “Organo” |
| 1727 | 1135/27 | Wo zween unter euch eins werden | |
| 1727 | 1148/27 | Der Herr ist mein getreuer Hirt | |
| 1727 | 1150/27 | Gott wird alle Werke | |
| 1727 | 1153/27 | Meine Kindlein lasset uns nicht lieben | |
| 1727 | 1154/27 | Fröhliche Stunden gesegnete Zeiten | |
| 1727 | 1107/27 | Siehe da eine Hütte Gottes | |
| 1728 | 1112/28 | Eins bitte ich vom Herrn | |
| 1728 | 1113/28 | Von Gott will ich nicht lassen | |
| 1728 | 1117/28 | Wandelt wie sich’s gebühret eurem Beruf | |
| 1728 | 1169/28 | Selig sind die reines Herzens sind | |
| 1728 | 1124/28 | Unser Trost ist der daß wir ein gut’ Gewissen haben | |
| 1728 | 1128/28 | Frohlocke werthe Christenheit | |

⁴⁷ Listed in order of composition and performance.⁴⁸ Reperformed in Worms on July 31, 1725, for consecration of Dreifaltigkeitskirche.

| | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------------------------|--------|
| 1728 | 1133/28 | Wir rühmen uns auch der Trübsal | |
| 1728 | 1147/28 | Vergeltet niemand Böses mit Bösem | |
| 1728 | 1151/28b | Schau hier die Rabenart | |
| 1728 | 1155/28 | Gelobet sei der Herr täglich | |
| 1728 | 1157/28 | Ach wie nichtig ach wie flüchtig | |
| 1728 | 1165/28 | Bei dem Herrn findet man Hilfe | unfig. |
| 1729 | 1151/29 | Der Herr hat seine Stadt verlassen | |
| 1735 | 1134/35 | Ihr seid nicht fleischlich | |
| 1735 | 1138/35 | Der Friede Gottes welcher höher ist | |
| 1735 | 1152/35 | So halten wir es nun | |
| 1739 | 1155/39 | Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott | |
| 1741 | 1147/41 | Alle Schrift von Gott eingegeben ist | |

Chapter 5

Opera in the Church?

In 1700, the German pastor and poet Erdmann Neumeister (1671–1756) wrote the following:

To put it bluntly, a cantata is nothing other than a piece from an opera, of recitative and aria set together.¹

With these words, which appeared in the preface to his first volume of sacred poetry, Neumeister consciously departed upon an innovative path that would bring the latest theatrical developments inside the church, an institution at times vehemently opposed to them. Yet his innovation met with significant resistance, not just from pietists in the eighteenth century, but resistance that continued in nineteenth-

¹ “Soll ichs kürztlich aussprechen / so stehet eine *Cantata* nicht anders aus / als ein Stück aus einer *Opera*, von *Stylo Recitativo* und *Arien* zusammen gesetzt.” Neumeister, *Geistliche Cantaten* (1700, pub. 1704), unnumbered preface, online images 6–7. Throughout this chapter, I will use the word “cantata” in this sense, i.e., referring to the ‘modern’ multi-movement church piece, with recitatives and arias. The same word is also used to apply to secular Italian pieces, and even some eighteenth-century German sources use it in that way. I do not use the word to refer to small-scale vocal compositions by, for example, Buxtehude, which are now often called “cantatas.”

and twentieth-century scholarship.

Indeed we might even find a trace of this resistance in the earliest Graupner biography, from 1781.

After listing his various instrumental works, the anonymous author writes:

But these are trinkets against his essential [*körnigen*] church style. He thought church music so lofty, venerable and holy, that it was worlds apart from the opera and chamber styles; a stranger who heard him for the first time, was amazed and imagined that he was in another world. In this type of music he worked with industry, punctuality, quiet serenity and pure joy of heart. Art associated with nature, splendor with simplicity, charm with beauty and affected edification and contentment; [he] was no slavish imitator of contemporary composers, but rather [had] his own genius with its own character.²

This is, I think, a challenging quote to interpret. To begin with, though it attributes the sentiment to Graupner himself, it was written more than two decades after his death, in a significantly different aesthetic environment. However, the author is clearly knowledgeable about Graupner's church music, something that marks a significant departure from the next earliest biographical notice, in the second edition of Gerber's dictionary. While the latter mentions only his operas and published keyboard music, the 1781 biography clearly demonstrates the centrality of the church style in Graupner's oeuvre.

In this chapter, I will explore the connection between Graupner's life and works and the field of opera. Though previous scholarship has occasionally seen his eventual occupation as a church composer

² "Aber Schalen sind dieses gegen seinen körnigen Kirchenstil. Er dachte sich die Kirchenmusik so hoch, ehrwürdig und heilig, daß er sie von dem Opern- und Kammerstil himmelweit unterschied; der Fremde, der ihn zum erstenmal hörte, staunte und wähnte in eine andre Welt versetzt zu sein. In dieser Musikart arbeitete er mit Fleiß, Pünktlichkeit, stiller Heiterkeit und sanfter Freude des Herzens. Verband Kunst mit Natur, Pracht mit Einfalt, Reitz mit Schönheit und bewürkte Erbauung und Vergnügen; war kein slavischer Nachbeter gleichzeitiger Componisten, sondern selbst Genie mit eigem Gepräge." Oswald Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben und Wirken Christoph Graupners in Darmstadt," in *Christoph Graupner: Hofkapellmeister in Darmstadt, 1709–1760*, ed. Oswald Bill, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 28 (Mainz: Schott, 1987), 88–89.

as inevitable, looking at the trajectory of his life from before 1709, it appears anything but. In fact, it seems as if Graupner's training prepared him more for the theater than for the church. My thesis does not take this as surprising, but the opposite: for the cantata composer, a background in the opera was desirable. The lack of a background in 'theatrical' music could be seen instead as a hindrance; though Graupner spent the vast majority of his life writing church music, he never really wrote in the old-fashioned 'church style.' I begin with the eighteenth-century origins of the cantata as an admittedly operatic genre before discussing the reaction of literary critics and theorists. Yet in our modern-day scholarship, as I will show, these operatic origins are often depicted as problematic; something to be played down, or even ignored. The second half of the chapter traces Graupner's involvement with the opera, first at Leipzig, then at Hamburg (where he worked under Reinhard Keiser), and finally at Darmstadt. We will see that Ernst Ludwig hired an opera composer to write church music, and this was hardly a contradiction.

Erdmann Neumeister and Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel

Even from the title of the book, *Geistliche Cantaten statt einer Kirchen-Music*—sacred cantatas instead of church music—we might infer that Neumeister sought not merely to augment, but to supplant the older genres,³ like the old-style biblical dictum motet or its derivatives. Indeed Neumeister was

³ Alternatively, the title could mean "sacred cantatas in the part of the service where the *Kirchen-Music* is performed."

advocating the transplanting of a secular genre, perhaps *the most* secular genre, into the principal place for music in the Lutheran service: right after the sermon. Grounded firmly in Martin Luther's own belief that God's word is dead unless actively proclaimed, Neumeister saw this as an opportunity to reach congregants who might not otherwise be receptive. An expressive, even sensual, music like opera had the capacity to enhance the expressive and emotional content of the church's teachings.

Furthermore, Neumeister was in some sense making a political statement, wading deep into the dispute as to whether opera itself is moral or even permissible.⁴ In saying that opera has a place in the church, he was by implication condoning its place in society more broadly. For that matter, beyond the political realm, Neumeister's innovation was also a kind of religious proxy war. Pietism—a religious movement that coalesced around Philipp Jakob Spener beginning in 1675—emphasized an inner spirituality devoid of what the pietists saw as the ostentatiousness of mainstream Lutheranism.⁵ They opposed all but the simplest music in the church service, hewing closely to monophonic chorale singing. If one were to conceive this ideal's polar opposite, one cannot do much better than church cantatas as envisioned by Neumeister. In advocating the cantata, Neumeister, active already in the

⁴ Some years later, no less than the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz would be called upon to give his views on this issue. For more on the political aspect, see David Yearsley, "The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera: Mattheson, Keiser, and *Masaniello furioso*," in *Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism, and National Culture: Public Culture in Hamburg 1700–1933*, ed. Peter Hohendahl (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), 37. See also Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), especially chapters 11 and 12.

⁵ *Pia Desideria: oder Hertzliches Verlangen, nach Gottgefälliger Besserung* (Frankfurt: Zunner, 1676). See also Johann Arndt, *True Christianity*, trans. Peter Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1979).

religious pamphlet war, expanded the battlefield to music.⁶

Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel (1696–1759), originally from Breslau, studied theology in Leipzig; he would return to Breslau in 1736 to teach at the Elizabeth-Gymnasium. He published several books in his lifetime, including a history of church music (Breslau: Korn, 1738). However, it is for his *Zufällige Gedancken von der Kirchenmusic* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1721) that he is best known, in part because of the citation of this work by Mattheson.⁷ In this book, Scheibel presents a full-throated defense not only of the appropriateness of music in church, but also of operatic cantatas in particular. Basically, he reasons that the people should be brought to God, and God to the people, by any (appropriate) means necessary. If congregants were perfect believers, says Scheibel, who always came to church of their own accord, and always in the right frame of mind, there would be no need for church music. This is, of course, not the case, and music “is capable of bringing them into church even if they had no other intention [than to hear music].”⁸ Indeed this sort of attitude goes right back to the first Lutherans in the sixteenth century, even Luther himself. Though Luther rarely used secular tunes as models, he did frequently make use of tunes with which the congregation would have been familiar.⁹

⁶ Neumeister would go on to publish several volumes attacking the pietists, for example, *Idea Pietismi, oder kurtzer Entwurff von der Pietisten Ursprung Lehr und Glauben* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1714). This text is published pseudonymously, the author credited as “Orthodoxophilo.”

⁷ Johann Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728), 108–9.

⁸ Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, “Random Thoughts About Church Music in Our Day,” in *Bach’s Changing World: Voices in the Community*, ed. Carol Baron, trans. Joyce Irwin (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 237.

⁹ Joseph Herl has noted that the phrase “why should the devil have all the good tunes”—often attributed to Luther—was likely not actually uttered by him. Nevertheless, the original melody of his hymn *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm*

In her introduction to the translation of Scheibel's writings, Joyce Irwin explains that this conflict was first and foremost generational.¹⁰ Scheibel, who was born in the final decade of the seventeenth century, was a "true son of the eighteenth century" and therefore had little patience for the old-fashioned arguments of earlier generations. For him, the question was not whether non-biblical texts were appropriate in church, but rather which particular skills were necessary to write poetry suitable to be set to church music. He "boldly affirmed" the appropriateness of operatic music in church, and thereby provided a "theoretical foundation" for the cantata composers of his own generation.¹¹ Scheibel makes direct reference to an argument as old as Augustine, if not older, that if the music moves the listener, it must necessarily be suspect.¹² Scheibel rejects this, seeing instead the possibility of moving the thoughts and feelings of the listener toward God:

Should then a cantata come into their hearing, one set according to the new unconstrained manner, some are astonished by it, others, however, because they have heard similar music in secular settings, think instantly it is a sin and such free compositions are not fitting in church, as if indeed affections might not be moved in church as well as outside church in an opera or a Collegium Musicum. ... I do not know why operas alone should have the

ich her, was adapted from the secular song *Ich kumm aus frembden landen her*, but, Herl points out, this hymn was not originally for use in the church, and Luther replaced the melody for the 1545 hymnal, and its this later, newly-composed, melody that is associated with the hymn today. Though Luther did regularly reuse melodies, which was not new to him, mostly they were tunes associated with sacred texts, including plainchant. Herl plainly states: "There is in any case no justification for the argument that Luther attempted to promote congregational singing by catering to the tastes of the masses." See Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 21–22.

¹⁰ Scheibel, "Random Thoughts About Church Music in Our Day," 229.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² St. Augustine, "Confessions," in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. W. Oliver Strunk (New York: Norton, 1998), 22–23.

privilege of squeezing tears from us; why is that not true in the church?¹³

Finally, Scheibel outlines his ideal church music, and in so doing, describes church cantatas of the kind written by so many early eighteenth-century German composers, Graupner included.

16. The best and now most common form is when arias [by which Scheibel means strophic songs] as well as cantatas [i.e., arias and recitatives] and oratorios [i.e., biblical choruses] are mixed together, where namely arias, recitatives, biblical passages and chorale verses on a single theme are presented. The arias express the strongest affection, the recitatives explain it; the passages from the Bible test it, and the verses from hymns are at the same time “advancing arguments” that expand on the movement. I would add to this a reminder concerning the texts and hymns, that they also must have an element of affect in them, of which Mr. Neumeister is a perfect master.¹⁴

Thus we see a contemporary theologian, poet and writer who not only does not object to operatic music in church, but also actively campaigns for its use as the most effective way to move the hearts and minds of the congregation. So as not to be misunderstood, he makes specific reference to the work of Neumeister, the earliest champion of the church cantata.

It would be hard to find a single cantata aria that would not fit into a contemporary German opera, and reading Scheibel, the reason for this becomes quite clear. If a composer wants to communicate something to his listeners, whether it be Godly love or earthly, divine pleasure or worldly, he is well advised to speak a (musical) language his audience understands. Mattheson makes this point exactly:

For example in churches, where the main consideration is devotion, one will seldom succeed where devotion is not stimulated through means which can set astir all types of temperaments at the proper time and in their measure. Composing a devotional piece (in

¹³ Scheibel, “Random Thoughts About Church Music in Our Day,” 240–41.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

the normal sense) is somewhat commonplace, and the listener is not at all moved if he hears a respectable, serious harmony; but devotion has very many aspects and these must continually be renewed, encouraged, and so to speak stimulated, otherwise sleep follows.¹⁵

Literary Criticism: Gottsched and Mattheson

German opera not only faced criticism from clergy, whether pietist or otherwise; it endured literary diatribes as well. The foremost figure in this campaign was undoubtedly Johann Christian Gottsched, the Leipzig based author and critic who worked tirelessly to establish a uniquely German literary and poetic style. His efforts in this arena were first published in his *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*, whose first edition appeared in 1730—three more editions, often with significant revisions, followed in 1737, 1742 and 1751. The writings in this volume on cantatas and operas in particular were reprinted in Mizler's *Musikalische Bibliothek* in 1738 and 1742 respectively.

Gottsched's primary criticism is based on contemporary opera's lack of ancient models and the unnaturalness of the dramaturgy. However, while he had an enormous collection of over 600 libretti, it appears that he actually saw few, if any, of the works on the stage. In other words, his criticism focuses on the literary aspects alone, ignoring the musical. Lindberg writes that literary scholars have assumed that opera libretti were "beneath critical notice" and as a result, overstated the effects of Gottsched's campaign against opera. He quotes one nineteenth-century author who even went as far as to put it

¹⁵ Ernest C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 263.

in military terms, describing Gottsched as having defeated opera.¹⁶ Lindberg argues persuasively that Gottsched's criticism had little to do with the lack of success seen by German public opera.

Gottsched devotes very little space to the discussion of the German liturgical cantata. His comments in this area focus almost exclusively on the secular version, derived from Italian models. Evidently his concerns about opera did not transfer to the cantata, for Gottsched himself wrote several, including a handful in the first edition of the *Versuch*.¹⁷ Liturgical cantatas ("Kirchenstücke") are grouped together with the oratorio in two short sections at the end of the chapter.¹⁸ For Gottsched, this type of poetry typically makes use of religious figures, like Jesus or even God himself, or allegorical figures, like the Daughter of Zion, Faith, Hope or Love.¹⁹ In addition to arias and recitatives, the poet may also use biblical text; particularly stirring ("rührendes") moments may be set as ariosos. He draws attention to the use of chorale texts ("unsern geistlichen Liedern"), and their being sung by the entire congregation, as especially effective. He contrasts this with Catholic church music, which uses Latin or other foreign

¹⁶ Dian Igor Lindberg, "Literary Aspects of German Baroque Opera: History, Theory, and Practice (Christian H. Postel and Barthold Feind)" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1964), 2; quoting from Jakob Minor, *Christian Felix Weisse und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Innsbruck, 1880), 130 (my translation).

¹⁷ Perhaps the best known example of Gottsched's work in this genre is his libretto for Bach's *Trauer-Ode*, BWV 198, performed on October 17, 1727 for the funeral of the Electress Christiane Eberhardine. The fourth edition of the *Versuch* is considerably rearranged, and the cantata texts are omitted.

¹⁸ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751), 728–29. The relevant excerpt is reprinted beginning on page 238.

¹⁹ For Graupner, this is relatively rare; the aria "Kommt alle" from *Ach, was soll ich Sünder machen*, GWV 1153/09b is, however, designated for "Jesus." This does not carry over into the performing part, however, and there are no extant text booklets.

languages (“Wälsch”), and therefore cannot be understood by the average person (“gemeiner Mann”).²⁰

Though he highlights the work of Neumeister, he criticizes “Brocksens” (presumably Barthold Heinrich Brockes) as “much too bombastic” (“viel zu schwülstig”).

Good cantata texts are marked by a natural, flowing and moving style of poetry (“natürliche, fliegende und bewegliche Schreibart”); as a particular good example of this technique, Gottsched recommends the “galant poetry” (“galante Poesie”) of Christian Friedrich Hunold (“Menantes”) to his reader. Likely, Gottsched refers to Hunold’s earliest publications from Hamburg, like the *Sinn-, Schertz- und Satyrischen Gedichten* (Hamburg: Liebern timer, 1702), *Galante, verliebte und satyrische Gedichte* (Hamburg: Liebern timer, 1704) and *Theatralische, galante und geistliche Gedichte* (Hamburg: Fickweiler, 1706). Only through texts like these can the Germans free themselves of the ignorant wailing (“unverständiges Geheule”) of Italian texts. Gottsched concludes his discussion of this genre by saying that for effective performance, the singers must themselves feel the meaning of the text; otherwise they are only like a parrot (“Papagey”) or a swallow (“Schwalbe”). We can thus see that while Gottsched had serious reservations about the entire genre of opera, he did not harbor those same concerns about the cantata. Rather he sees it as a vehicle, if used effectively, for communicating religious sentiment to the congregation. Above all the poetry must be good; he mentions music only as subservient to quality

²⁰ Though the Grimm dictionary lists “wälsch” as a synonym for “romanisch, italienisch, französisch”, it is likely that Mattheson means only Italian. An eighteenth-century German-English dictionary gives the meaning simply as “Italian” (John Ebers, *The New and Complete Dictionary of the German and English Languages* [Leipzig: Breitkopf / Haertel, 1799], 3:790).

verse.

It is perhaps not surprising that Mattheson, one of the great defenders of German opera, weighed in too on the appropriateness of “theatrical music” in the church. His *Der musicalische Patriot*, published in 1728 as a single volume, is divided into a series of forty-three reflections (“Betrachtungen”) on a variety of topics, with a particular focus on music, especially opera. Even from the title itself, we can tell that Mattheson had high aspirations for this work of aesthetic criticism. What the title does implicitly the dedication makes explicit—Mattheson saw this volume as a counterpoint to the literary criticism of Hamburg’s Patriotische Gesellschaft, whose own moral weekly was entitled *Der Patriot*.²¹ As David Yearsley writes, “throughout his fifty-year career as a writer on music—and nowhere more vociferously than in the pages of *Der musicalische Patriot*—Mattheson claimed that music was fundamental to the ethical health of civil society.”²²

After the topic of opera, Mattheson gives the the most extensive consideration to his discussion of church music, in particular the use of theatrical elements therein. He considers the topic most intensely in the thirteenth through the seventeenth *Betrachtungen*; I will consider the thirteenth here in particular, as an introduction to his thoughts on the cantata.²³ The chapter is headed “Universus Mundus exercet Histrionam,” which translates, literally, to “the entire world makes use of actors.” The quote alludes

²¹ Yearsley, “The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera,” 33.

²² Ibid., 34.

²³ Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 105ff; the entire *Betrachtung* is reprinted beginning on page 233.

to a phrase from the Roman writer Petronius, albeit transposing the first two words; the most familiar evocation of this same sentiment comes from Jacques's "All the world's a stage" in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. Knowing of his love of all things English, Mattheson could well have had Shakespeare in mind. His intent in heading the chapter with this phrase will soon become clear—one cannot separate the theatrical from the non-theatrical, all things are theatrical to a greater or lesser degree.

Critics, says Mattheson, turn up their noses at figural church music ("Figural-Musik in der Kirche"), deriding it as "theatrical," as though this were some kind of insult. He suggests that these critics, having leveled this charge, feel there is no more to be said. Only hypocrisy and ignorance could lead to such a charge, however. Mattheson argues that there is no inherent difference between sacred and secular music, rather it is only the means in which they are used that differs, not some innate quality of the music. He quotes an unnamed author who says that "church music should differ from secular music only in its greater degree of expression [and that] it concerns itself less with outward finery (Auf-Putz)."²⁴

He continues, making the connection with opera explicit:

Ich habe sonst in der Kirche (so fremd einem auch die Worte scheinen) eben die Absicht mit der Music, als in der Opera, nemlich diese: **Daß ich die Gemüths-Neigungen der Zuhörer rege machen, und auf gewisse Weise in Bewegung bringen will, es sey zur Liebe, zum Mitleid, zur Freude, zur Traurigkeit &c.**²⁵

Otherwise I have in church (so strange one of these words appears) the same musical object as in opera, namely, this: **To stir the emotions of the listeners, and arouse them in a certain way, be it to love, compassion, joy, sorrow, etc.**

²⁴ Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 105.

²⁵ Ibid.

He bolsters this claim with a lengthy quote from an unnamed French author.²⁶ Like Gottsched, the unnamed author too singles out the importance of the singers in correctly expressing the sentiments of the text and music. Church music is commonly written in a lofty style (“erhab[e]ner Styl”), he says, and therefore the singer must take special care to clearly enunciate the text. Secondly, these singers must be better musicians than opera singers: they sing in full view of the congregation, and must read from music, as they lack the time to memorize the music (“seine Sachen auswendig zu lernen”).²⁷

Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel features at this point in Mattheson’s argument; he quotes the following passage from the former’s *Random Thoughts*:

Es bleibet ein Affect, nur daß die *Objecta* variiren, daß Z. E. hier ein geistlicher Schmerz, dort ein weltlicher, empfunden wird: daß man hier ein geistliches, dort ein weltliches Gut, vermißt &c. Wie ich mich über etliche weltliche Dinge betrübe, so kann ich mich über geistliche betrüben: wie ich mich über diese erfreue, so kann ich mich über jene erfreuen. Der Ton, der mich in einer Opera vergnügt, der kann solches auch in der Kirche thun; nur, daß er ein anders *Objectum* hat.²⁸

It remains one affection, only that the objects vary, that, for example, here a spiritual pain, there a worldly pain is felt, that here a spiritual, there a worldly good is missed, and so forth. Just as I can be saddened concerning worldly things, so I can be saddened about spiritual things; just as I can rejoice about these, so I can rejoice about those. The tone that gives me pleasure in an opera can also do the same in church, except that it has a different object.²⁹

²⁶ Mattheson does not identify the author by name, calling him first “a clever man” (“ein kluger Mann”) and later just referring to him as the “above named French author” (“bey obigem Frantzösischen Verfasser”). However, he gives the citation “Hist. de la Mus. Tome IV.” This likely refers to the four volume history of music, *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets* (Paris: Cochart, 1715), by Bonnet and Bourdelot.

²⁷ Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 108.

²⁸ Ibid., 108–9.

²⁹ Scheibel, “Random Thoughts About Church Music in Our Day,” 238.

Mattheson, for his part, writes that he is in “total agreement with the estimable Scheibel.”

Mattheson then moves into a lengthy excursus on etymology. No one can dispute, he says, that words acquire their meaning through use—he cites the examples of the words “barbarian” and “tyrant.” In ancient Greek, says Mattheson, the former meant only a stranger (“someone who has the misfortune not to be Greek”) and the latter meant only a bully. By the eighteenth century however, these words had taken on new, much more negative meanings. Implicitly, the reader is meant to understand the same thing about the word “theatrical.” While some may use it negatively, the word is not in and of itself negative. Rather, we must redefine it in its positive sense, rather than as a derogatory slur against music the critic simply does not like. Mattheson concludes his chapter by drawing on the work of the theologian and music theorist Caspar Calvör. In 1702, the then-Zellerfeld deacon published a detailed essay on the history of various types of sacred music, on the occasion of the dedication of the new Arp Schnitger organ there.³⁰ Mattheson’s chapter ends with a quote from Calvör’s 1717 preface to Christoph Albert Sinn’s *Temperatura practica*:

Gleichwie dieses grosse, gewaltige Welt-Gebäude einem herrlichen **Theatro und Schau-Platz**, darauf die höchst-anbetens-würdige, allerheiligste, ewig Weisheit, Allmacht und Güte des Schöpfers, auf die allerklügste, doch verborgenste, geheime Weise spielt, gar gleich und ähnlich ist: also eräuet sich auch solches zuvörderst in den *Proportionibus musicis*, als welche, wiewol gantz geheim und verborgen, durch die gantze Welt gegossen sind, wannenhero auch einer von den alten Weisen die Welt nennet: *Organum, sive Psalterium Dei*, ein Psalter-Spiel GOTTES.³¹

³⁰ Martin Ruhnke, “Calvoer [Calvör], Caspar,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 15, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04623>.

³¹ Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 112.

Just as this great big building of the world is a magnificent theater [*Theatro und Schau-Platz*], upon which performs [*spielet*] the most-worship-worthy, all-holy omniscience, omnipotence and goodness of the creator, in the very wisest, yet concealed and hidden ways, is indeed the same and similar: thus manifests itself first and foremost in the proportions of music, which, though entirely secret and hidden, have formed [*gegossen*] the whole world, when also one of the old sages called the world: Organum, the psalter-play of God.

For Mattheson, this piece of evidence provides all that is needed to end the argument. “Now if a theater were contemptible,” he asks, “why would a great, theologian compare the created being [*erschaffenes Wesen*], the godly work with it, and say that God himself plays or performs on it?”³² His meaning is clear: rather than demean the church, theatrical forms are instead elevated by it.

Modern-Day Objections

Philipp Spitta, the pre-eminent Bach scholar of the later nineteenth century, reacted strongly to the implications of Neumeister’s statement that a cantata is nothing other than a piece out of an opera. While many have explored the parochial and nationalistic agenda of his two-volume study, here I wish to focus on his particular reaction to opera, which, while originating in the Bach literature, has had its effects felt beyond that. For Spitta, opera was nothing less than the musical manifestation of our basest nature. (Not, mind you, that this stopped him from making clear that Germans still excelled in this field over Italians, even “to the present day.”³³) Spitta does not mince words in dispensing his views:

³² Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 112.

³³ Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685–1750*, trans. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller Maitland (London: Novello, 1899), 1:467.

While Bach was striving contemplatively after his pure ideal in quiet and calm activity, outside in the world the murky flood of an aimless artistic struggle was rising higher and higher... It was now the opera which, being more and more cultivated by both German and foreign artists, was attracting all attention to itself. Invented, to a certain extent, at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Italians, it had soon been transplanted as a luxury for courts into Germany... during the last decade it had shot up luxuriantly, not without acquiring some national peculiarities, particularly since the citizen class had taken possession of it, following the example of Hamburg. Ere long, however, it was again wholly dependent on the foreigners who had originated it, and who were by nature so well qualified for it... [it was] a foreign growth on German soil, rich in foliage but barren in fruit.³⁴

But Spitta does indeed acknowledge the influence of opera on Bach's cantatas, in the process creating a problem for himself. It is only through Bach's organ music—the only true genre of church music, for it grew up within the church, says Spitta³⁵—that he is able to forgive the operatic stain. Spitta's reaction causes him to miss an opportunity and not only that, his strong condemnation has affected later scholarship. In saying that Bach alone was able to produce anything worthwhile in the cantata genre, on account of his activities as an organist, he effectively says that it is not worthwhile to explore the activities of contemporary composers, even in the church, never mind the opera. He allows his own strong views on the subject to cloud out objective study. The focus ought not to be his own opinions on opera, but rather the reactions—positive and negative—of early eighteenth-century critics and theorists, the very ones dismissed by him.

³⁴ Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 1:466–67.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:484.

The consequences of Spitta's condemnation of the operatic origin of cantatas are on display in Alfred Dürr's 'white washing' of the genre's history. First published in 1971, his book *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach* has become the standard reference work, going through five editions in German before appearing in an English translation in 2005. In the introduction—which remained virtually unchanged—Dürr outlines the history of the cantata prior to Bach.³⁶ While at the outset he describes the cantata as “closely related to opera and oratorio,” he makes no further mention of this relationship.³⁷ Instead he focuses on historical antecedents for the *Hauptmusik*, or principal music, in the Lutheran service. Beginning first with the chanting of Bible verses by the presider, he leads the reader through the addition of choral participation, then to the development of the dictum motet, until at last we arrive at the cantata.³⁸ In this strongly evolutionary account, we come away with the impression that the cantata is the natural, indeed the only, possible outcome.

Such an account not only downplays the secular roots of the cantata, but it also misrepresents the significance of Neumeister's innovation. Dürr suggests a direct line from Schütz and Schein to the Bach cantatas, rather than a clear break. This attitude can be seen even in his choice of language. Referencing Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602), he says: “Caccini's collection is thus the

³⁶ In response to new research and discoveries, Dürr updates the portions of the introduction that describe Bach's composition development, but leaves the first section, prior to Bach, largely unchanged.

³⁷ Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach: With Their Librettos in German-English Parallel Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

starting-point of the Italian chamber cantata, whose forms, via Neumeister, *entered into* the Protestant church cantata.”³⁹ The choice of the phrase “entered into” implies a continuous stream of cantata development—perhaps extending back into the 16th century, given the date of the Caccini volume—which elements of the Italian chamber cantata merely joined themselves to. Dürr easily glosses over the nearly 100 years between Caccini’s publication and Neumeister’s, and does not feel any need to demonstrate the latter’s familiarity with the former. It is no wonder then that in approaching the genre of the eighteenth-century German church cantata, one would underestimate both its novelty and its secular forebears.

Graupner in Leipzig

In the next large section of this chapter, I will trace Graupner’s exposure to and composition of opera, first in Leipzig, then in Hamburg, and finally in Darmstadt. In 1692, the Saxon Elector Johann Georg III (1647–1691) granted his court Kapellmeister, Nicolaus Adam Strungk (1640–1700), a license to operate a public opera house in Leipzig. The new building on the Brühl opened on May 8 of the following year, presenting Strungk’s own *Alceste*.⁴⁰ It was in this same year, 1693, that Graupner would

³⁹ Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 8. My emphasis.

⁴⁰ This opera had been performed earlier, both in Hamburg (1680, see Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 178) and in Hannover (1681); a libretto for the latter performance is preserved in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-13/start.htm>.

arrive in Leipzig to begin his studies at the Thomasschule.⁴¹ Even though Strungk's primary responsibilities lay in Dresden at the electoral court, the Leipzig opera was very much a home-grown affair. As George Stauffer writes, "Local composers, local performers and mostly German texts were to become mainstays of the Leipzig opera with its audience of wealthy citizens, university students and fair visitors."⁴² Graupner's future vice Kapellmeister, Gottfried Grünewald, appeared as both a singer and a composer—his opera *Der ungetreue Schächter Cardillo* was presented at the New Year's Fair in 1703.⁴³ Johann David Heinichen, Graupner's friend in Leipzig and later Strungk's successor as Dresden court Kapellmeister, was also significantly represented on the stage, with three of his operas, *Der Karneval von Venedig, oder Der angenehme Betrug, Hercules*, and *Die Lybische Talestris*, all presented in 1709.⁴⁴

It seems that Graupner was only active as a singer at the opera;⁴⁵ we have no record of his having written operas for the Leipzig stage.⁴⁶ It is reasonable, however, to assume that even working as a singer

⁴¹ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 99.

⁴² George B. Stauffer, "Leipzig," in *Grove Music Online*, "I. To 1763; 2. Opera", accessed February 23, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16353>.

⁴³ A libretto for *Cardillo* is preserved in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden (online at <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id369881915>); the music is lost.

⁴⁴ One aria from *Karneval* and eleven from *Hercules* are preserved at Schwerin; a libretto for *Talestris* is available at <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id370046293>.

⁴⁵ George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 6.

⁴⁶ On the possibility of an opera by Graupner in Leipzig, and other now-lost music from that time, see Friedrich Noack, *Christoph Graupners Kirchenmusiken: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik am landgräflichen Hofe zu Darmstadt* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1916), 3. In his autobiography, Graupner specifically mentions having been forced to leave his musical materials and books behind, along with "many beautiful manuscripts" (viele schöne Manuscripte) (Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* [Hamburg, 1740], 411).

at the opera would have contributed to Graupner's education in the theatrical style. We know very little in fact about his activity as a composer, if any, in Leipzig. The most reliable source about this early period is his autobiography, published by Mattheson. In the autobiography, Graupner writes:

Immittelst hatte ich bey dem nachherigen Capellmeister in Dresden, **Johann David Heinichen**, auch den Anfang zur Composition gemacht, worin es mir ziemlich gerieth, indem ich den Vortheil des **Singens** (NB.) und Claviers schon vor mir hatte. Da hiernächst **Johann Kuhnau**, vormahls Organist an der **Thomas-Kirche**, zum Cantor befördert wurde, genossen wir beide miteinander, **Heinichen** und ich, seiner Anweisung, so wohl auf dem Clavier, als in der Setzkunst. Weil ich mich auch bey **Kuhnau**, als Notist, von selbst anbot, und eine gute Zeit für ihn schrieb, gab mir solches gewünschte Gelegenheit, viel gutes zu sehen, und wo etwa ein Zweifel entstand, um mündlichen Bericht zu bitten, wie dieses oder jenes zu verstehen? Durch den täglichen Fleiß gerieth es also nach und nach dahin, daß ich mich weder in Kirchen- noch theatralischen Sachen nicht sonderlich mehr zu fürchten hatte; sondern fest ging.⁴⁷

Meanwhile I had also begun to compose with [bey] the future Kapellmeister in Dresden, Johann David Heinichen, which went pretty well, as I already had the advantage of singing (NB) and keyboard [training]. Since after this, Johann Kuhnau, formerly organist at the Thomaskirche, was promoted to Cantor, we both enjoyed together, Heinichen and I, his instruction, both on the clavier and in composition [*Setzkunst*]. Because I had offered to serve Kuhnau as a copyist, and wrote for him for a good while, it gave me the opportunity I had wished for to see many good things, and if a doubt should arise, I [would] ask for an oral explanation, how to understand this or that. Through daily industry I got it bit by bit, so that I no longer feared either church or theatrical things; but firmly went forth.

Christoph Großpietsch makes it clear that Graupner and Heinichen studied alongside one another.⁴⁸ This contrasts with the interpretation advanced by René Schmidt and George Buelow, which would have Graupner taking composition lessons from Heinichen.⁴⁹ The more important part of this

⁴⁷ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 411.

⁴⁸ Christoph Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken: Studien zur Darmstädter Hofmusik und thematischer Katalog* (Mainz: Schott, 1994), 15.

⁴⁹ René Schmidt translates the “bey” in the first sentence of this excerpt as “under,” suggesting that Graupner received composition instruction from Heinichen (René Schmidt, “The Christmas Cantatas of Christoph Graupner (1683–

paragraph, for the present purposes, comes in the final two sentences. Graupner describes his experience working as a copyist for Kuhnau, and the many opportunities this provided to learn from his music. He then says that he “feared neither church nor theatrical things”; by implication this means that Graupner was not only copying the cantor’s church music, but his theatrical music as well. While the music for all of Kuhnau’s stage works is lost, perhaps there were additional works, written at Leipzig between 1701 and 1706, during Graupner’s service as a copyist. Alternatively, perhaps Graupner is referring to learning theatrical technique from Kuhnau’s church music? Regardless, it is clear that by the time Graupner left Leipzig, he felt confident in writing for both the church and the stage.

Kuhnau’s relationship with the Leipzig opera was fraught. While he himself wrote several now-lost works for the stage, including at least one opera, he was outspoken against the Leipzig opera. However, this apparently was not because of opera itself, or its style, but rather because of the heavy demand it placed on his own students as performers.⁵⁰ The fact that these concerns reached their apex at a time when he was struggling with illness, and fighting off constant attempts by Telemann to undermine his authority—not just at the opera, but also by founding a rival collegium musicum, and obtaining the approval of the mayor to write for the Thomaskirche—suggests that there may be an additional political

1760)” [PhD diss., University of North Texas, 1992], 4). He goes on to say that “Graupner was instructed by the teenage Heinichen” (Schmidt, “Christmas Cantatas,” 7). George Buelow reaches a similar conclusion, seizing the opportunity to boast about the young Heinichen’s compositional mastery (Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen*, 4).

⁵⁰ Stauffer, “Leipzig,” “1. To 1763; 2. Opera”; George J. Buelow, “Kuhnau, Johann,” in *Grove Music Online*, “1. Life”, accessed February 23, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15642>.

dimension.

Buelow has suggested that Kuhnau was attempting “to write church music that was untainted by the tendency towards the secularism arising from the growing popularity of opera.”⁵¹ Schmidt goes further, saying that Kuhnau “was knowledgeable about the da capo form, [but that] he scorned its use in church music because of its secular origins.”⁵² Here Schmidt cites Evangeline Rimbach’s dissertation on Kuhnau’s church cantatas, in which she describes Kuhnau’s complaints to the city council against the “corrupting effects” of opera, in particular the use of recitative and da capo arias which, he argued, had a “secularizing effect.”⁵³ Yet again these remarks must be read in context: Rimbach suggests that the council’s decision to propose Telemann as a successor to Kuhnau in 1703, when he was only sick, and would not die for another nineteen years, led to enmity not just with Telemann, but with the council itself. In other words, we can see that Kuhnau is attempting to justify himself on religious grounds, as the cantor at the Thomasschule, to bolster his standing with the council.

In Kuhnau’s own published writings on the topic, he is somewhat more circumspect. In his preface to a *Texte zur Leipziger Kirchen-Music* published in 1709 he writes:

Ich muss zwar bekennen, dass die Arien, wenn Pathetische Worte in artigen Metris und Rhythmis eingeschräncket sind, der Music eine ungemeine Grace geben, welche bey denen in Prosa gesungenen Worten so leichte sich nicht herfür thut. Nichts desto weniger bin ich doch bey der einmahl gefassten Resolution geblieben, und zwar um so viel mehr, weil ich,

⁵¹ Buelow, “Kuhnau, Johann,” “2. Works”.

⁵² Schmidt, “Christmas Cantatas,” 153.

⁵³ Evangeline Rimbach, “The Church Cantatas of Johann Kuhnau” (PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, 1966), 23–24.

indem ich ietzo von dem Madrigalischen Stylo, der in Arien und Recitativ besteht, nichts sehen lasse, dem Verdachte der Theatralischen Music desto leichter zu entgehen gedencke. Wiewohl auch noch zur Zeit denen wenigsten die eigentliche Difference des Kirchen und Theatralischen Styli bekandt ist, und an beyden Orten die Madrigalien ohne Praejudiz eines jeden Proprii stattfinden können.⁵⁴

I must confess that the aria, when impassioned words are set in an agreeable meter and rhythm, gives the music an uncommon grace, which words sung in prose do not so easily do. Yet I remain convinced, and indeed become more and more so, that the less I permit of the madrigalistic style, which exists in arias and recitatives, the easier I find it to escape the suspicion of theatrical music. Although today we are aware of the few differences between the church and the theatrical style, and in both places the madrigal [style] can appear without disadvantage [*ohne Praejudiz*] of any characteristic [of either the church or theatrical style].

He thus acknowledges the strong effect of arias in particular, and their effectiveness in delivering sacred texts. Though he acknowledges concerns about the theatrical nature of arias and recitatives, he seems to imply that their use in the church is acceptable—but one must use them appropriately. We need only look to his own music for further confirmation of this: it makes extensive use of both da capo arias and recitatives.⁵⁵ He clearly must also have no strong objection to madrigalian poetry, for he sets Neumeister's texts of exactly this type.

Moving from Kuhnau's writings to his music, we can see that his cantata "Weicht ihr Sorgen aus dem Herten" is filled with all the trappings of the theatrical style.⁵⁶ To begin with, it consists of three da

⁵⁴ Kuhnau, Preface to *Texte zur Leipziger Kirchen-Music* (Leipzig: Tietzen, 1709), reprinted in Bernhard Friedrich Richter, "Eine Abhandlung Joh. Kuhnau's," *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 34, no. 9 (1902): 149.

⁵⁵ It should be noted however that the cantatas to which this preface applies are all lost, and establishing the chronology of his other vocal works is challenging, so they could significantly either pre- or post-date these written comments.

⁵⁶ There does not appear to be a published edition of this cantata, but it is transcribed in Rimbach, "The Church Cantatas of Johann Kuhnau," 944–69.

capo arias, alternating with recitatives. The arias, which are each somewhat irregular in form, display clear use of ritornellos and the harmonic alternations characteristic of the form—a clear opposition between the ‘A’ and ‘B’ sections. Stylistically, it bears a very strong resemblance to Graupner’s earliest cantatas, though in general the sectional divisions are more clearly demarcated.

Altogether we can see that the words of Graupner’s most important composition teacher cannot be taken at face value; it is insufficient to assign him to the anti-opera camp. This fact sheds greater light on Graupner’s comments about his studies with Kuhnau: we can see that it may be entirely possible that when he refers to having absorbed the theatrical style from his teacher, he could well have been referring to the church cantatas.

Graupner at the Hamburg Opera

Schmidt seems somewhat puzzled by Graupner’s willingness to work at the opera, and implies that Graupner sought employment there because of the dismal state of church music.⁵⁷ As evidence, he cites the section of Heinz Becker’s *New Grove* article on Hamburg devoted to church music.⁵⁸ However, this article has a very strong anti-opera bias, and dramatically overstates the decline of church music

⁵⁷ Schmidt, “Christmas Cantatas,” 11–12.

⁵⁸ Heinz Becker and Lutz Lesle, “Hamburg,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed February 11, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12268>.

there, and so, I argue, should be set aside, or at least read with caution.⁵⁹ The important point is that Graupner had a legitimate choice between the church and the opera, and he chose the latter.

Becker notes as well that the process of secularization that the local cantor was fighting against resulted in the foundation of the Hamburg opera. “Opera,” he writes, “was thus immediately cast as the rival of church music, which was the real reason for the clergy’s opposition to the changes.”⁶⁰ But this statement, for which Becker gives no evidence, is an oversimplification. To begin with, it is wrong to say that all of the Hamburg clergy opposed the opera; some, notably Johann Friedrich Meyer (1650–1712) and (of course) Erdmann Neumeister, actively supported it. In fact, the libretto for *Orontes*, the second opera to be performed at the newly formed opera house in 1678, was written Heinrich Elmenhorst, a preacher at the Katharinenkirche.⁶¹ Rather it was the pietist clergy who actively campaigned against opera, not out of any parochial concern for church music, but rather out of a puritanical distrust of public spectacle. As Dian Lindberg writes, “opera quickly became one of the most embattled issues in

⁵⁹ Becker paints a very bleak picture of sacred music in Hamburg, but it is somewhat hyperbolic. He depicts the cantor Joachim Gerstenbüttel as a righteous conservative, standing athwart the progress of history toward secularization. The indifference of city authorities, however, left him “lonely and embittered” (Becker and Lesle, “Hamburg”). Yet Gerstenbüttel would be succeeded by Telemann, who was in turn succeeded by C. P. E. Bach, both of whom were among the most prominent, if not the most prominent, composers of their generations. Indeed Telemann, after assuming the position in 1721, would get a salary increase from the town council in 1722 by threatening to leave for Leipzig. It is hard to imagine that the town council would hire such prominent musicians, and meet the resulting higher salary demands, if they were entirely indifferent. While there is ample evidence to suggest that sacred music was not the primary focus for either composer, it is hard to believe that Hamburg was in a perpetual state of decline for nearly 150 years, from 1675 until at least the death of C. P. E. Bach in 1788.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 177.

the bitter conflict between the orthodox clergy and the Pietists.”⁶² And besides, there is no real evidence to suggest that the clergy were particularly supportive of church music around 1700 either—this was, after all, the province of the city council, and not the clergy.

Opened in 1678, the Hamburg Gänsemarkt Oper was the first public opera house in Germany, where it alternated between periods of financial success and near failure until its closing in 1738. Perhaps surprisingly, the first opera performed there was on a biblical theme: Johann Theile’s *Der erschaffene, gefallene und auffgerichtete Mensch, oder Adam und Eva* (Man, created, fallen and judged, or Adam and Eve). Indeed, this opera was performed in the refectory of the Hamburg Cathedral in 1677 before the new building had even opened.⁶³ We can see that the people behind the opera’s founding, chief among them Gerhard Schott, knew they would encounter resistance, and sought to head it off through choice of theme, and perhaps venue as well.⁶⁴ Hamburg was an important trade center, and gradually the cultural diversity of the city influenced its opera, or alternatively, the opera was forced to become more diverse to appeal to its ever changing audience. Already in the 1680s, first Italian, and then French features could be observed.⁶⁵ By the time Reinhard Keiser—described by Mattheson as the “*premier*

⁶² Lindberg, “Literary Aspects of German Baroque Opera,” 88.

⁶³ Werner Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt: aus der Frühgeschichte der alten Hamburger Oper, 1677–1697* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1987).

⁶⁴ Yearsley, “The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera,” 36.

⁶⁵ Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel’s Operas: 1704–1726*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 43–44.

homme du monde”⁶⁶—assumed the directorship in 1703, the Hamburg opera was very much a polyglot, in both musical and linguistic terms. As George Buelow has written, Hamburg “was a ‘peoples’ opera’, if it is remembered that the people were the wealthy merchant and aristocratic classes.”⁶⁷

Opera in Hamburg was in a precarious position, not so much because of theological campaigns against it, but because of economic realities. It was not so much that ticket revenue was insufficient, but that the various directors insisted on such lavish productions that they could not hope to recoup their costs. Mattheson shows that the income from the first eleven years of opera productions (1695–1705) was nearly 185,000 Marks; with an average of 94 productions per year, this works out to an average income of under 200 Marks per opera.⁶⁸ By contrast, the librettist Barthold Feind wrote that when Gerhard Schott was the director, on one particularly elaborate production, he spent 15,000 Reichsthaler on stage decorations alone.⁶⁹ While currency conversion at this time is notoriously challenging, it appears that Marks were worth slightly less than Reichsthalers; therefore, Schott spent nearly the entire ticket income from one year on staging for only one opera.

At the conclusion of the same *Betrachtung* by Mattheson mentioned above, he gives a dozen reasons

⁶⁶ Quoted in George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 472.

⁶⁷ George J. Buelow, “Opera in Hamburg 300 Years Ago,” *The Musical Times* 119, no. 1619 (January 1978): 28; see also Gisela Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz: bürgerliches Musikverständnis zwischen Barock und Aufklärung (1660–1760)* (Hamburg: Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde, 1997).

⁶⁸ The figures for income and number of productions are from Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 197–99.

⁶⁹ “Der selige Herr Schott in Hamburg war darinnen sehr *accurat*, wovon der Lüneburgische Kalck-Berg/ das Römische *Capitolium*, und der weitberühmte Tempel Salomonis / so bey funffzehn tausend Rthlr. allein kosten soll / sattsam Exempel sind” (Barthold Feind, *Deutsche Gedichte ... sammt einer Vorrede ... und Gedancken von der Opera* [Stade: Brummer, 1708], 111).

why, in his view, opera was not successful in Hamburg. The fourth refers directly to cost: “4. High rents and hefty salaries.”⁷⁰ However there is plenty of blame to go around: inconsistency of directorship; lack of dancers and supporting players; the length of most operas; and the foreign language. Foremost, however, is his first reason: “the Opera stood in the way of the temperament of the inhabitants; for, to put it briefly: Operas are more for kings and princes than for business- and trades-people.”⁷¹ But if Mattheson blames the people for not appreciating, or even being worthy of, the value of the opera, Lindberg argues just the opposite. In the final decade, finances were so tight that the final directors could afford only mediocre productions, for ever higher ticket prices. “The citizens of Hamburg,” writes Lindberg, “were not tired of opera; they were merely tired of second-rate opera.”⁷²

As for Graupner’s activities at the Hamburg opera, he is characteristically vague in his autobiography, writing only that “Such employment [i.e., playing harpsichord at the opera] continued for three years, and it led to ever more opportunities for me to practice theatrical writing.”⁷³ As Table 5.1 shows, Graupner would have been at the harpsichord for at least twenty-two unique operas by five different composers. Additionally, he had five operas solely of his own composition performed. Hans-Joachim

⁷⁰ “4. Die hohe Pachtungen und starcke Besoldungen” (Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 199).

⁷¹ “1. Stehet dem Aufnehmen der Opern im Wege **das Naturell der Einwohner**; denn, kurtz zu sagen: **Opern sind mehr für Könige und Fürsten, als für Kauff- und Handels-Leute.**” (ibid.).

⁷² Lindberg, “Literary Aspects of German Baroque Opera,” 49.

⁷³ “auch mit solcher Verrichtung drey Jahr fortfuhr, einfolglich immer mehr Gelegenheit bekam, mich in der theatralischen Schreibart zu üben” (Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 412).

Marx has spoken of Handel's time in Hamburg as an apprenticeship to Reinhard Keiser.⁷⁴ We could say just as well that the same was true for Graupner.

Table 5.1: Operas performed in Hamburg, 1705–9

| 1705 | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------|
| Title ⁷⁵ | Composer | Librettist | Score |
| <i>Almira</i> | Handel | Feustking | D-B |
| <i>Iphigenia</i> | Keiser | Postel | |
| <i>Lucretia</i> | Keiser | Feind | |
| <i>Nero</i> | Handel | Feustking | |
| <i>Octavia</i> | Keiser | Feind | |
| 1706 | | | |
| <i>Almira</i> | Keiser | Feustking/Feind | D-B |
| <i>Claudius</i> | Keiser | Hinsch | |
| <i>Germanicus</i> | Grünwald | Corradi | |
| <i>Hercules und Hebe</i> | Keiser | Postel | |
| <i>Justinus</i> | Schieferdecker | ? | |
| <i>La Fedeltà coronata</i> | Keiser | Hinsch | D-B |
| <i>Lucretia</i> | Keiser | Feind | |
| <i>Masagniello furioso</i> | Keiser | Feind | |
| <i>Salomon</i> | Keiser | Hunold | |
| <i>Sueno</i> | Keiser | Feind | |
| 1707 | | | |
| <i>Antiochus und Stratonica</i> | Graupner | Feind | D-B |
| <i>Das Carneval von Venedig</i> | Keiser/Graupner | Meiser and Cuno | |
| <i>Der großmüthige Roland</i> | Steffani | Mauro/Fiedler | |
| <i>Dido</i> | Graupner | Hinsch | |

⁷⁴ Hans Joachim Marx, "Handel's Years as an Apprentice to Reinhard Keiser at the Gänsemarkt Opera House (1703–1705)," in *Handel Studies: A Gedenkschrift for Howard Serwer*, ed. Richard G. King (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2009), 25–45.

⁷⁵ This list is based on Mattheson, *Der Musikalische Patriot*, 186–87 and Hans Joachim Marx and Dorothea Schröder, *Die Hamburger Gänsemarkt-Oper: Katalog der Textbücher (1678–1748)* (Laaber: Laaber, 1995), 473–75. See also Ernst Pasqué, "Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe zu Darmstadt," *Die Muse (Darmstadt)* 1–2 (1853–1854): 637–38. Revived operas already listed from an earlier year are not repeated in the table. Printed libretti, often many exemplars in several different libraries, survive for all of the works listed. The score column refers only to complete scores; often excerpts from the operas were separately published or otherwise preserved.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|-----|
| <i>L'Amore ammalato</i> | Graupner | Feind | D-B |
| <i>Störtebecker</i> | Keiser | Hotter | |

1708

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------|--|
| <i>Bellerophon</i> | Graupner | Feind | |
| <i>Daphne</i> | Händel | Hinsch | |
| <i>Die lustige Hochzeit</i> | Keiser/Graupner | Cuno | |
| <i>Florindo</i> | Händel | Hinsch | |
| <i>Hercules und Theseus</i> | Graupner | Breymann | |

1709

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------|-------|
| <i>Desiderius</i> | Keiser | Feind | PL-Kj |
| <i>Heliates und Olimpia</i> | Keiser/Graupner | Keiser? | |
| <i>La forza dell'amore</i> | Keiser | Hoë | |
| <i>Nebucadnezar</i> | Keiser | Hunold | B-Br |
| <i>Orpheus</i> | Keiser | Bressand | |
| <i>Simson</i> | Graupner | Feind | |

Keiser: The Master to Graupner's Apprentice?

Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739) was the foremost composer of opera in German, indeed in Germany, during his lifetime, and was praised by Johann Mattheson as the “greatest opera composer in the world.”⁷⁶ Friedrich Noack calls him “possibly the most ingenious [genialster] German opera composer before Mozart.”⁷⁷ Mattheson continues, saying that:

[I]ch behaupte ihn aber dennoch biß diese Stunde, und glaube sicherlich, daß zu seiner Zeit, da er blühte, kein Componist gewesen sey, der, absonderlich in zärtlichen Singesa-

⁷⁶ The praise occurs in the context of a commemorative poem by Mattheson in honor of Keiser's recent death, which begins with the following heading: “Als der grösste Opern-Componist von der Welt, den 12. Sept. 1739. von der Welt Abschied nahm, hegte man darüber folgende Gedancken” (Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 133).

⁷⁷ Noack, *Graupners Kirchenmusiken*, 4.

chen, so reich, so natürlich, so fließend, so anziehend, und was das meiste, zuletzt noch so deutlich, vernehmlich und rhetorisch gesetzt hat, als eben er.⁷⁸

I believe with certainty that during the time at which he flourished, there was no composer who, especially in tender vocal compositions [zärtlichen Singesachen], [was] so rich, so natural, so fluent, so appealing, and until now [these works] had not been so clearly, forcefully and rhetorically set, as [by] him.

Though Keiser fostered claims that he wrote over one hundred operas, he can be shown to have written only sixty-six with certainty, an immense quantity nevertheless.⁷⁹ Though he was born near Weissenfels and spent time working at that court, as well as at Brunswick, the vast majority of his compositions received their premiere at the Hamburg Oper am Gänsemarkt.⁸⁰

Yet after his death, like Graupner, Keiser's reputation suffered in relation to his contemporaries. In opera, Handel's works were elevated, and in Lutheran church music, Bach's works were promoted. Basil Deane lays the blame for this in particular on nineteenth-century historians, "anxious to protect their musical heroes from any charge of indebtedness." In particular, Friedrich Chrysander's biography of Handel paints an "unfavourable picture" of Keiser, on "very flimsy" evidence.⁸¹ It is Handel in particular who has posed a challenge for later historians. With almost no evidence, they have suggested that Keiser was jealous of the much younger Handel for his prodigious talents, and sought to thwart

⁷⁸ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 133.

⁷⁹ John H. Roberts, "Keiser, Reinhard," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 4, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14833>.

⁸⁰ Like Graupner shortly after him, Keiser too attended the Leipzig Thomasschule, from 1685 to 1692, and likewise studied with Johann Schelle, and maybe also with Johann Kuhnau (*ibid.*). Graupner arrived the year after Keiser left.

⁸¹ Basil Deane, "Reinhard Keiser: An Interim Assessment," *Soundings* 4 (1974): 30.

his advancement on the Hamburg stage through any means necessary. Indeed, rather than escaping Hamburg because he had outgrown it, Handel takes a score of Keiser's *Octavia* with him to Italy, showing that he had not yet learned everything he could from it.⁸²

It is difficult to generalize about Keiser's style, given both the significant losses and the general unavailability of editions and recordings of the operas that do survive. In general, his music has been described as a fusion of Italian and French characteristics with a particular attention to the setting of German text. Mattheson goes so far as to praise him as the first composer (along with Mattheson himself) to properly set German text to music in an "oratorical and reasonable manner."⁸³ For Mattheson, this means a particular attention to grammatical meaning. Likely he had in mind Keiser's recitatives above all else, where this attention to grammatical appropriateness is most evident.

As for French features, Claudia Zenck has singled out "the choice of opening overtures instead of symphonies, and choruses instead of arias; ballet insertions; the tendency to use smaller forms; two-part arias; strophic arias and dance arias; and a syllabic setting of the text."⁸⁴ It may in fact be this inability to generalize that marks Keiser's music—he had a particular gift for giving each opera a unique musical characterization. For example, his operas *Claudius* (1703) and *Nebucadnezar* (1704) "differ radically,"

⁸² Deane, "Reinhard Keiser," 31.

⁸³ "Er ist wirklich der erste Componist gewesen, der, nebst mir die oratorische und vernünftige Weise einen Text unter die Noten zu legen, und nach grammatikalischen Einschnitten verständlich abzutheilen, sich angelegen seyn lassen: und darauf bezogen sich vornehmlich unsere Gespräche" (Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 129).

⁸⁴ Claudia Maurer Zenck, "German Opera from Reinhard Keiser to Peter Winter," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 336.

despite their near contemporaneity.⁸⁵ Keiser's creative orchestrations are particularly notable, especially in his evocations of natural scenes. Zenck divides Keiser's output into three large periods: "a first experimental phase to ca. 1710, a middle phase and a final phase from 1718 onwards."⁸⁶ In this first phase, during which Graupner would have been present in Hamburg, Keiser's works are characterized by an extensive variety of aria forms, both in terms of organization and scoring. By the middle phase, the aria forms had stabilized, and are more often than not regular da capo forms.

In 1706, Keiser collaborated with Barthold Feind, one of the leading German-language librettists, and an important theorist on the opera, on *Masagniello furioso*.⁸⁷ In Feind's libretti, we see a dramaturgy more reminiscent of Shakespeare than of the Latin and Greek models for French libretti. Indeed, he was the first German theorist "to commend Shakespeare as a dramatic model."⁸⁸ Feind himself writes about how French authors follow Greek and Latin models in merely relating rather actually depicting action. His desire to follow the English preference to portray the action is evident in *Masagniello furioso*, particularly during the storming of a fortress and the resulting assassination of the titular hero. It was exactly this departure from classical models that would trouble Gottsched decades later.⁸⁹ Feind's libretti also ignited significant controversy in his own time and place. Two years after *Masagniello furioso*, a

⁸⁵ Roberts, "Keiser, Reinhard."

⁸⁶ Zenck, "German Opera from Reinhard Keiser to Peter Winter," 337.

⁸⁷ For more on the political implications of this opera, see Yearsley, "The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera," 39–46.

⁸⁸ Deane, "Reinhard Keiser," 33.

⁸⁹ Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*, 731ff.

protesting group interrupted a performance of Graupner's *L'amore ammalato*, also with a libretto by Feind, creating serious chaos and stopping the show.⁹⁰ Feind was forced to seek refuge in Stade, after the Senate was forced by protests to deport him from the city.⁹¹ Yet Feind was also one of the most popular, and productive, librettists in Hamburg during Graupner's time there. Of the thirty-two operas listed in Table 5.1, Feind wrote, or contributed to, eleven of them, or just over one-third.

The collaboration between Keiser and Feind extended beyond individual operas—both shared the same concerns about expressive text and music. Discussing the importance of the musical setting, Keiser writes that:

the music should present the affects of anger, of pity, of love, together with the characteristics of generosity, justice, innocence and trust, in all their natural directness, and should excite all minds through its secret power.⁹²

It is more straightforward to see how this might apply to arias, but what is striking about *Masagniello furioso* is the application of dramatic techniques in the recitative. The rapid use of cadences underlines an agitated emotional state, and the melodic line may be spoken one moment, and an expressive melisma the next.⁹³ The crucial confrontation between Masagniello (the rebel leader) and the Spanish viceroy is portrayed completely in recitative. An important technique, which Deane calls “double recitative,” is

⁹⁰ George J. Buelow, “Feind, Barthold,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 4, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09425>.

⁹¹ Yearsley, “The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera,” 38.

⁹² Keiser, Preface to *Componimenti Musicali* (Hamburg: Härtel, 1706); Quoted and translated in Deane, “Reinhard Keiser,” 34.

⁹³ Ibid.



Figure 5.1: Keiser and Feind, *Masagniello furioso* (1706, libretto from D-HAu).

having multiple characters sing simultaneous phrases, with different implications.

Of the over sixty operas Keiser composed, only seventeen are extant today. Of these seventeen, only one new production from Graupner's Hamburg time survives: *Masagniello furioso*, first performed in 1706 (Figure 5.1).⁹⁴ It is theoretically possible that Graupner may also have been present for the premiere of *Octavia* in 1705, but it is not known in which month this actually took place. A similar

⁹⁴ The list of extant musical sources for Keiser's operas, in chronological order by premiere, is given in John D. Arnn, "Text, music, and drama in three operas by Reinhard Keiser" (PhD diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1987), 60.

14. Aria furiosa con tutti li Stromenti*

Violino I
Oboe I

Violino II
Oboe II

Viola

MASAGNELLO

Basso continuo

Ihr knal - len - de Schlä - ge, ihr knal - len - de Schlä - ge der don - nem - den...

Stük - kn, zer - rei - ßet, zer - schmet - tert, zer - rei - ßet, zer - schmet - tert, brecht al - len das

Figure 5.2: Keiser, 14. “Ihr knallende Schläge,” *Masagnello furioso*, mm. 1–8.

BASSIAN

O che rob - ba re - go - la - ta! Che rob - ba fi - o - ri - ta! Ihr Kin - der

Basso continuo

senza accordo

kau - fet fein bei Zeit Me - lo - nen, Man - deln, Fei - gen, Kir - schen, Cu - cu - mer, Fen - chel,

Figure 5.3: Keiser, 15. “O che robba regolata,” *Masagniello furioso*, mm. 1–5.

67. Aria con tutti li Flauti e Violini all'Ottava bassa

Flauti dolci
Violino I,II

MARIANE

Ti per - dei, mio - bel - so - le - ti per - dei, ti per - dei, a - ma - to -

ben, a - ma - to ben! Tu - sei - tol - to, va - go -

vol - to, ma non al mio - fi - do - sen, che si la - men - ta,

che si la - men - ta, e che - si - duo - le, e che - si - duo - - - le. Da capo

Figure 5.4: Keiser, 67. “Ti perdei,” *Masagniello furioso*.

situation pertains for the 1709 premiere of *Desiderius*.⁹⁵ Graupner departed Hamburg no later than early 1709 and it is not known exactly when *Desiderius* was first performed. Graupner was also employed at the Hamburg opera for the 1706 revival of Keiser's *Claudius* (originally from 1703), and may also have been present for the 1709 revival of *Nebucadnezar* (originally from 1704).

Barthold Feind created the libretto for *Masagniello furioso* by drawing on the unsuccessful 1647 rebellion in Naples against Spanish occupying forces. The leader of the rebellion, a fisherman named Tommaso Aniello, was ultimately assassinated by the Spanish nobility. The choice of such a topic was controversial, in a city then in the throes of popular unrest. As David Yearsley writes, "faith in the civic function of opera is crucial to an understanding of *Masagniello furioso* and its meaning in Hamburg in the final years of the Unrest."⁹⁶ This reflected Feind's desire to steer opera away from mythological topics and toward the presentation of events from recent history, or biblical topics. Though Masagniello successfully initiates the rebellion, in response to an oppressive tax, he ultimately goes mad, and is shot by his own supporters. John Roberts, writing on this opera, says that "the brutal Masagniello is one of the most extraordinary character studies in Baroque opera."⁹⁷ Around this fundamentally factual plot, Feind constructs two romantic subplots, and introduces a fruit-seller, Bassian, for comic relief.

⁹⁵ Arnn does not list this among his extant sources, but materials for it survive today in Poland (PL-Kj). These materials are listed in the online RISM catalog, but without enough detail to ascertain their relationship with Keiser.

⁹⁶ Yearsley, "The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera," 39.

⁹⁷ John H. Roberts, "Masagniello," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, accessed March 29, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/0008173>.

Masagnello's first aria, "Ihr knallende Schläge," is cast within the bounds of the Italian rage aria tradition (Figure 5.2). The ritornello in the strings and winds is dominated by a repeating, incessant pattern of rushing thirty-second notes. Against this, the rebel leader leaps up and down, awkwardly, calling his supporters to battle. This moment is immediately followed by Bassian's dissonant cry; calling the townspeople to sample his wares (Figure 5.3). The juxtaposition of musical language could not be more striking. This refrain recurs for Bassian throughout the opera, an effective use of musical characterization. Towards the end of the second act, Keiser evokes the loneliness of Mariane, abandoned by Antonio, through the use of an affective, and highly chromatic aria (Figure 5.4). Scored for unison violins and recorder, and mostly in unison with the voice, the lack of any grounding bass line contributes to a sense of abandonment.

Though Graupner would not have been present for the premiere of Keiser's *Tomyris* in 1717, I shall briefly consider its idiosyncratic use of the orchestral palette as characteristic of Keiser's general style. In "Kühle Winde," the use of three obbligato bass instruments against pizzicato violins and long, held notes in the viola, transports listeners into the sound-world of the aria (Figure 5.5). The alternation between the strings and the solo traverso is particularly effective. Only minutes later, the hopelessness of Meroë's "Kann ich meinen Schatz nicht retten" is captured through juxtaposition of the concertato violin against the ripieno strings and oboes (Figure 5.6). As the character pleads for death, unable to be with her unrequited love Tigranes, the plaintive sighs of the solo violin soar above the vocal line.

Finally, *Tomyris* makes extensive use of accompanied recitative, almost all examples of which look like “Unüberwindlicher Gebieter” (Figure 5.7). “It was perhaps in his recitative,” says Deane, “that he was most ahead of his contemporaries.”⁹⁸ The slowly shifting harmonies are given to the upper strings in held notes, and Keiser often alternates between sections of secco recitative and accompanied recitative, which is the case in this example.

Handel in Hamburg

The Hamburg Gänsemarktoper had been in operation for a quarter century by the time Handel arrived in the spring or summer of 1703.⁹⁹ Initially employed as a second violinist, he soon took on the position of continuo harpsichordist. He would ultimately write a total of four operas for the Hamburg stage: *Almira* and *Nero*, both performed in 1705 and *Florindo* and *Daphne*, both performed in 1708. Unfortunately, the music is lost for all but *Almira*.¹⁰⁰

The first aria, Consalvo’s “Almira regiere” (Table 5.2), begins with a short tripartite ritornello, comprising a two measure *Vordersatz*, two measure *Fortspinnung* and two measure *Epilog* (Figure 5.8).¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Deane, “Reinhard Keiser,” 34.

⁹⁹ Dean and Knapp, *Handel’s Operas: 1704–1726*, 38. John Roberts suggests that Handel first participated in the orchestra during Keiser’s first appearance as director, on August 28, 1703, in *Die Geburth der Minerva* (“Keiser and Handel at the Hamburg Opera,” *Händel-Jahrbuch* 36 [1990]: 63).

¹⁰⁰ The instrumental dances HWV 354 and 344 might be from *Florindo*; HWV 352 and 353 might be from *Daphne* (Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric,” Works List).

¹⁰¹ The use of Germanic terminology to discuss ritornello form should not be construed as suggesting a Germanic derivation.

Nr. 27. Aria
con istromenti diversi

Andante cantabile

Flauto traverso

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello I

Violoncello II

Contrabbasso

TOMYRIS

Basso continuo

Küh - le Win - de,

saust ge - lin - de, küh - le Win - de, saust ge - lin - de, rau - schet

Figure 5.5: Keiser, 27. “Kühle Winde,” from *Tomyris* (1717)

Nr. 30.

Aria

con Violino solo e tutti gl'istromenti unisoni

Violino solo
Violino I, II
Oboe I, II

MEROË

Viola
Violoncello
Contrabbasso
Basso continuo

Viol. solo

tutti

Viol. solo

Violoncello

tutti

Violonc.

6

tutti

Kann ich mei - nen Schatz nicht ret - ten,

7

11

Solo

tutti

Solo

kannich mei - nen Schatz nicht ret - ten, kannich ihn nicht ret - ten aus den schwe - ren

Figure 5.6: Keiser, 30. “Kann ich meinen Schatz nicht retten,” from *Tomyris* (1717)

ACCOMPAGNEMENT

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

TOMYRIS

Violoncello
Contrabbasso
Basso continuo

Un - ü - ber - wind - li - cher Ge - bie - ter al - ler Welt, du Schrek - ken al - ler Völ - ker und

3

Rä - cher bö - ser Ta - ten, der fro - he Tag hat sich nun wie - der ein - ge - stellt, an dem durch

Figure 5.7: Keiser, 1c. “Unüberwindlicher Gebieter,” from *Tomyris* (1717)

1. Aria

Oboe I, II

Violino I, II

CONSALVO

Bassi
(Violoncello,
Contrabbasso,
Fagotto, Cembalo)

Al - mi - re re - giere,

Figure 5.8: Handel, “Almira regiere,” *Almira* (1705), mm. 1–8.

This is the form which would be crystallized in Vivaldi’s *L’Estro Armonico*, op. 3, later published in Amsterdam, in 1711. The voice enters in m. 7 with a motto derived from the head motive, and the orchestra reprises all but the *Vordersatz* of the ritornello. The voice re-enters in m. 12, continuing through the first section of text, leading to a modulation to the dominant (F major) by m. 16. The *Fortspinnung* returns, modified so that what was initially a sequential gesture now circles around the dominant (and its dominant) to reinforce the modulation. The voice completes the perfect authentic cadence into m. 21, leading to a full return of the second and third ritornello sections, transposed. After the perfect authentic cadence into m. 25, the musical material from m. 12 returns, initially in F

major, but gradually back into B-flat major by m. 27. The end of the phrase is slightly modified so as to remain in the tonic this time. The fourth recurrence of the *Fortspinnung*+*Epilog* pair rounds off the A section.

Table 5.2: G. F. Handel, “Almira regiere” (I.i), *Almira* (1705)

| | |
|--|--|
| Almira | Almira |
| Regiere | Shall reign |
| Und führe | And bear |
| Beglücket den Scepter, großmühtig die Krohn, | Joyfully the scepter, nobly the crown, |
| Sie ziere | She shall adorn |
| Alfonso des Vaters glorwürdigen Thron; | Her father Alfonso’s glorious throne; |
| Daß man verspühre, | As all shall be aware, |
| Almira | Almira |
| Regiere | Shall reign |
| Und führe | And bear |
| Beglücket den Scepter, großmühtig die Krohn. | Joyfully the scepter, nobly the crown. |

The B section comprises a mere 11 measures, so short that the ritornello in m. 40–43 abbreviates its *Fortspinnung* portion. Briefly in G minor, a short “retransition” (mm. 43–45) leads to an exact repeat of the material from the end of the first solo (mm. 13–16) as reprised at the end of the second, i.e. the non-modulating version (mm. 28–31). The opening ritornello, *Vordersatz* and all, then repeats, concluding the aria.

What we see here is clearly not a full *da capo* aria, even though the textual arrangement of the libretto allowed for that possibility. Given the full repeat of the opening ritornello, there is no musical reason why Handel could not have simply written “da capo” at m. 51, with a *Fine* at the beginning of

Figure 5.9: Corelli, Concerto in D major, op. 6, no. 4, mvt. 4, mm. 75–82.

the B section (downbeat of m. 35). The reason then must be dramatic: Handel does not wish for the pace of the opera to get bogged down in its very first aria: Consalvo is merely introducing the queen.

Nevertheless, this aria is shot through with Italianate elements. The ritornello structure is the kind found in so many concertos and arias, and was in use by Alessandro Scarlatti by the 1680s, if not earlier. The simplicity and transparency of the harmonic language strongly recalls Corelli, especially his op. 6 concertos. The sequential step-wise rise to the cadence in the *Fortspinnung*+*Epilog* pair, heard so many times in the aria, is much the same gesture as that found in mm. 79–86 of the fourth movement of Corelli’s op. 6, no. 4 in D major (Figure 5.9). Even the texture—violins and oboes together over a largely step-wise bass—has a *galant* character still characteristic of Pergolesi nearly three decades later. As Anthony Hicks has said, “[Reinhard] Keiser’s influence on *Almira* and the whole of Han-

del's [...] operatic output can hardly be exaggerated,"¹⁰² and that is surely the case here.¹⁰³ But that only strengthens the point: the Hamburg operatic style was fundamentally an Italian one, albeit with French and German influences. Perhaps one might even think of Handel as being a member of Keiser's "workshop," or, to use Hans Joachim Marx's formulation, as Keiser's "apprentice."¹⁰⁴

The lack of documentary evidence makes it difficult to establish exactly when Handel departed from Hamburg or when Graupner arrived. It appears that Graupner arrived in May 1706,¹⁰⁵ and Handel departed in the summer of that same year,¹⁰⁶ and that therefore they overlapped in the Hamburg opera orchestra. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 1, Graupner's death notice printed in a Hamburg newspaper in 1760 made specific mention of their friendship.¹⁰⁷ Graupner surely knew Handel's music—Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp have gone so far as to suggest that Graupner directed Handel's *Daphne* in January 1708, when, according to Mainwaring, the composer was in Italy.¹⁰⁸ Even

¹⁰² Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric."

¹⁰³ Roberts, "Keiser and Handel at the Hamburg Opera," 67–68.

¹⁰⁴ Marx, "Handel's Years as an Apprentice to Reinhard Keiser at the Gänsemarkt Opera House (1703–1705)."

¹⁰⁵ For more detail on the chronology of Graupner's arrival in Hamburg, see page 12.

¹⁰⁶ Both Hicks and Dean and Knapp report that he left Hamburg in the summer of 1706 (Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric"; Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas: 1704–1726*, 38). Donald Burrows provides a "probable" *terminus ante quem* of December 1706, dating the first documentary evidence of his presence in Rome to January 14, 1707 (*Handel*, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012], 33–34).

¹⁰⁷ See page 28.

¹⁰⁸ Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas: 1704–1726*, 72. In 1992, Anthony Hicks suggested that "it is just possible" that Handel returned from Italy to Hamburg to supervise the performance of his *Florindo* and *Daphne* (Anthony Hicks, "Handel, George Frideric," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* [London: Macmillan, 1992], 2:615). In 1995, John Roberts significantly expanded upon this speculation, citing Mattheson's entry on Handel in his *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740) and his (annotated) translation of Mainwaring's biography (Hamburg, 1761), both of which say that Handel was present in Hamburg in 1709 (John H. Roberts, "A new Händel aria, or, Hamburg revisited,"

if Graupner did not direct these operas, he would have at least performed the continuo parts for them, as he remained the primary harpsichordist at the opera until his departure for Darmstadt in 1709.

Graupner Moves to Darmstadt

Graupner did not stay long in Hamburg, however, writing that he “soon longed to get away from this tiresome activity: not on account of the work, which I did gladly; rather because of other frustrations that came along with it.”¹⁰⁹ Likely Graupner refers here to the notorious financial struggles of the opera company. At this time, a new opportunity presented itself. He writes:

Kurtz darauf kam der damahls-regierende Herr **Landgraft** von Darmstadt nach Hamburg, deßen Hochfürstliche Durchlauchtigkeit mich sehr gnädigst befragen liessen, ob ich wohl Lust hätte, mit nach Darmstadt zu gehen? Ich sagte gleich in aller Unterthänigkeit ja, und wie mir angedeutet wurde, meine Besoldung selbst zu fordern, stellte ich solche der Fürstlichen Gnade lediglich anheim, und nahm die Bestallung an, zuerst als Vice-Capellmeister, weil der alte Capellmeister, **Wolfgang Carl Briegel**, noch lebte.¹¹⁰

Shortly thereafter the then Landgrave of Darmstadt came to Hamburg, whose serene highness very graciously asked me whether I had the desire to go with him to Darmstadt? I said to the same yes with all deference, and as it was implied to me that I should name my

in *Georg Friedrich Händel: Ein Lebensinhalt—Gedenkschrift für Bernd Baselt (1934–1993)*, Schriften des Händelhauses in Halle 11 [Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 1995], 125). This statement, says Roberts, has often been dismissed out of hand, given the unequivocal evidence that Handel was present in Italy by no later than the beginning of 1707 (see footnote 106), but he goes on to outline how Handel may have been both present in Italy, yet returned briefly to Hamburg. In his revised article for the second edition of the *New Grove*, Hicks amplifies his earlier statement, saying that “newly-found evidence [i.e., the aforementioned article by Roberts] makes it more plausible to suggest that these operas were composed in Italy and that Handel returned to Hamburg late in 1707 to direct them” (Hicks, “Handel, George Frideric,” “§2: Hamburg”). However, when I spoke with John Roberts in February 2013, he said that in the years since the publication of this article, he has changed his mind, and no longer believes that Handel returned to Hamburg to direct these two operas.

¹⁰⁹ “Ich sehnte mich aber hernach von dieser mühsamen Beschäftigung bald weg: nicht der Arbeit halber, die ich gerne that; sondern wegen andrer dabey vorfallenden Verdrieslichkeiten” (Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 412).

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

own salary, I left it to the discretion of his princely grace, and accepted the appointment, at first as vice Kapellmeister, because the old Kapellmeister, Wolfgang Carl Briegel, still lived.¹¹¹

Ernst Ludwig (1667–1739) was a “splendor loving and extravagant ruler,”¹¹² a man of grand tastes and broad interests, with a highly developed appreciation of art, architecture and music.¹¹³ Unfortunately, his reach considerably exceeded his grasp: in remaking the somewhat old fashioned Darmstadt into a capital of baroque splendor, he drove his principality deeply into debt. Even his mother, who retained an active role after the end of her term as regent, was harshly critical of his bureaucratic ineptitude.¹¹⁴ His own ministers repeatedly bemoaned his disengagement from the affairs of government, and his imprudent management of the treasury.

In 1686, when Ernst Ludwig returned from a lengthy trip across Europe, spending a particularly significant amount of time in France, he was thoroughly enamored of all things French. In his eyes, the

¹¹¹ Briegel had been Kapellmeister at the court since 1671, when Elisabeth Dorothea brought him from her father’s court in Gotha, where he had served as Kapellmeister, charging him both with reviving the church musical establishment and providing a musical education for her sons. Elisabeth Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit*, Beiträge zur mittelhessischen Musikgeschichte 8 (Mainz: B. Schott, 1967), 120

¹¹² Rainer Maaß, “Hälfte des Lebens: Die Reisen Landgraf Ernst Ludwigs von Hessen-Darmstadt (1667–1739) zwischen 1706 und 1711,” in *Musikalische Handlungsräume im Wandel: Christoph Graupner in Darmstadt zwischen Oper und Sinfonie*, ed. Ursula Kramer (Mainz: Schott, 2011), 29.

¹¹³ Ernst Ludwig was only eleven when he assumed the throne in 1678, after the death of his father and two elder brothers in 1678. Therefore his mother Elisabeth Dorothea of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg ruled as his regent until he attained the age of majority in 1688.

¹¹⁴ The year before her son would assume the throne, when he was already twenty years old, Elisabeth Dorothea drafted an eleven-point list—entitled “What displeases me about Ernst Ludwig” (Was mir an dem Ernst Ludewig mißfällt)—of her son’s faults, foremost among them his lack of religious devotion. See Maaß, “Hälfte des Lebens,” 35–36.

Darmstadt court was hopelessly backward in the arts.¹¹⁵ His wedding to Dorothea Charlotte, daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, on December 1, 1687 provided the first public forum for Ernst Ludwig to hold a celebratory musical event, demonstrating the newest fashions in music. Hermann Kaiser describes his attempt to awe his guests, who came from across Germany, by creating a “Versailles in Darmstadt.”¹¹⁶ The centerpiece of this effort was a performance of Lully’s *Acis et Galathée*, which Ernst Ludwig had seen in Paris a year earlier.¹¹⁷ As the Kapelle was not large enough to accommodate a performance of this magnitude, many additional performers were engaged.¹¹⁸ Less than a year later, this was followed by the marriage of his younger sister, Sophie Louise, to Albrecht Ernst of Oettingen on November 11, 1688. For this arrangement, the ballet *L’enchantement de Médée* was presented on the stage in the residence. Though the music does not survive, this appears to have been a ballet-opera, adapted by Briegel, possibly from a French model.¹¹⁹

Yet these two large-scale performances of ballet and opera took place in a climate of significant opposition from Darmstadt clerics. Particularly notable in this connection was the pietist Abraham Hinckelmann, who became court preacher (*Oberhofprediger*) and *Generalsuperintendent* in 1687.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Hermann Kaiser, *Barocktheater in Darmstadt: Geschichte des Theaters einer deutschen Residenz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Eduard Roether, 1951), 79.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹¹⁷ Andrew D. McCredie, “Christoph Graupner as Opera Composer,” *Miscellanea Musicologica* 1 (1966): 86.

¹¹⁸ Kaiser, *Barocktheater in Darmstadt*, 81–82.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹²⁰ Carl Bertheau, “Hinckelmann, Abraham,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1880), 12:461.

Hinckelmann corresponded extensively with Johann Winckler, who was at that time the head pastor of the Hamburg Michaeliskirche, and conducting his own campaign against the opera there. It was likely in his capacity as deacon at the Hamburg Nikolaikirche (1685–87) that Hinckelmann had become acquainted with Winckler. On January 18, 1688, only six weeks after Ernst Ludwig's wedding, he writes to Winckler to say that he had "chased the opera-devil out of Darmstadt."¹²¹ Perhaps this was one of the "many ways in which he worked to improve the state of the church."¹²² He follows this statement immediately with a sentence describing the daily hour-long study of the Epistles of St. Paul that he conducts with the princes and princesses, possibly including Ernst Ludwig himself.¹²³ Hinckelmann's close juxtaposition of these two statements may suggest that he believes that the presence of opera somehow impedes appropriate religious study and conduct. However, it seems that his victory was fleeting. In October 1688, he returned to Hamburg, to assume the position of head pastor at the Katharinenkirche.¹²⁴ The performance of *L'enchantement de Médée* at Sophie Louise's wedding took

¹²¹ "das er den Opernteufel aus Darmstadt verjagt" (Johannes Geffcken, *Johann Winckler und die Hamburgische Kirche in seiner Zeit, 1684–1705* [Hamburg: Nolte, 1861], 411). See also Lindberg, "Literary Aspects of German Baroque Opera," 98.

¹²² Bertheau, "Hinkelmann, Abraham," 12:461.

¹²³ Geffcken, *Johann Winckler und die Hamburgische Kirche in seiner Zeit, 1684–1705*, 411. Carl Bertheau writes that Ernst Ludwig's mother, Elisabeth Dorothea, held him in particularly high esteem ("in großem Ansehen") (Bertheau, "Hinkelmann, Abraham," 12:461). Noteworthy is the absence of any mention by Bertheau of Ernst Ludwig himself, even though he had ascended to the throne by the time of Hinckelmann's arrival. Bertheau does not describe the exact circumstances that led Hinckelmann to move to Darmstadt, saying only that he was called (*gerufen*) there. Perhaps it was Elisabeth Dorothea who orchestrated Hinckelmann's move to Darmstadt, in the hopes of improving her son, similar to how she had arranged for Briegel to come to Darmstadt several years earlier.

¹²⁴ Geffcken, *Johann Winckler und die Hamburgische Kirche in seiner Zeit, 1684–1705*, 412; Bertheau, "Hinkelmann, Abraham," 12:461. Bertheau reports that it was the death of Hauptpastor Klug on October 28 that created the opening at the Katharinenkirche; it is not known exactly when Hinckelmann departed Darmstadt.

place only two weeks later: perhaps Hinckelmann continued to express his vehement opposition to the art form to no avail, and was therefore either dismissed, or, more likely, left in frustration.¹²⁵

Rainer Maaß identifies 1705 as an important turning point in Ernst Ludwig's European travels. On November 15th of that year, Dorothea Charlotte, his wife of nearly eighteen years and mother of his first five children—including Ludwig VIII who would succeed his father in 1739—died of consumption.¹²⁶ Ernst Ludwig loved his wife deeply; she represented the “ideal love” for him, and her death marked the end of this “ideal partnership.”¹²⁷ Imagining Ernst Ludwig's inner dialogue in the face of his deepening melancholy, Maaß writes:

What, he may have wondered, could now take her place? What should I do now? I have fulfilled my dynastic duty, bringing three sons and two daughters into the world; I have to rule a land whose debts I can hardly look at and to whose leadership I do not feel called, but I am the ruler and I will now do things that are important to me.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Bertheau writes that Hickelmann “could not forget Hamburg; and Hamburg had become so dear to him” (“konnte er Hamburg nicht vergessen; und in Hamburg hatte man ihn so lieb gewonnen”) that when Klug died, he chose to return. Elisabeth Dorothea understood, writes Bertheau, that he was called there by God, and therefore did not stand in his way (Bertheau, “Hinkelmann, Abraham,” 12:461). Such a sudden departure from a position he had held for only a little more than a year certainly suggests that his time there was, at the very least, unproductive. From his position at the Katharinenkirche, Hinckelmann, along with Winckler (Michaeliskirche) and Johann Heinrich Horb (Nikolaikirche), would become one of the most outspoken opponents against the Hamburg opera, inveighing against Johann Friedrich Mayer (Jacobikirche), who supported it. It is no coincidence that Erdmann Neumeister was also Hauptpastor at the Jacobikirche.

¹²⁶ Maaß, “Hälfte des Lebens,” 36.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ “Was, so mag er sich gefragt haben, konnte jetzt an ihre Stelle treten? Was wird jetzt aus mir persönlich? Meine dynastische Pflicht habe ich erfüllt, drei Söhne und zwei Töchter in die Welt gesetzt, ich habe ein Land zu regieren, dessen Schulden ich gar nicht mehr überblicke und zu dessen Führung ich mich nicht berufen fühle, aber ich bin der Herrscher und unternehme jetzt die Dinger, die mir selbst wichtig sind” (ibid., 37).

These “things” initially included travel, but expanded to include a dramatic building campaign.¹²⁹

For this campaign, the French-born architect Louis Remy de la Fosse was engaged in a project that would ultimately result in renovations to the hunting lodge at Kranichstein, significant expansion of the residential palace, the construction of an orangerie (Figure 5.10), and, importantly, the conversion of the riding school into an opera house.¹³⁰ This was also accompanied by a significant expansion of the Kapelle: from just eight instrumentalists in 1671, the musical establishment peaked at total of forty-two personnel in 1715.¹³¹

Though Ernst Ludwig was scarcely in Darmstadt for the next several years—leading to continual appeals, especially from his mother, that he return to perform his duties—one destination, namely Hamburg, concerns us here in particular. On January 14, 1709, Ernst Ludwig purchased a house on the Hamburg Gänsemarkt, the same square where the opera house was located.¹³² The house may have been used as a place to stay while he was visiting the city to attend the opera; however, another could

¹²⁹ Maaß describes this as an “expression of a mid-life crisis” (Maaß, “Hälfte des Lebens,” 37).

¹³⁰ John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 227. The hunting lodge and the orangerie survive intact in their original forms, the opera house was demolished in the later eighteenth century and the residential palace was bombed in 1944, but has been rebuilt with the same external appearance. On Louis Remy de la Fosse, see Jürgen Rainer Wolf, ed., *Darmstadt in der Zeit des Barock und Rokoko: Louis Remy de la Fosse* (Darmstadt: Magistrat der Stadt Darmstadt, 1980).

¹³¹ Spitzer and Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra*, 223; Ursula Kramer, “The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt,” in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara Reul, and Janice B. Stockigt (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2011), 356. For more on the composition of the Darmstadt Kapelle, particularly the singers, see Chapter 2.

¹³² Maaß, “Hälfte des Lebens,” 44.



Figure 5.10: The Darmstadt Orangerie (built 1719–21).

be that it was a love nest of sorts, for the Countess Sophie Louise von Sinzendorf (or Zinzendorf),¹³³ with whom Ernst Ludwig had been in a relationship for two or three years, a relationship that was something of an open secret. Only a few months later, in March, he would return to Darmstadt, and this would be his last trip to Hamburg.¹³⁴ The house would soon be sold, as the court treasury was unable to provide the funds to keep it.

At this time, the Hamburg opera performed an elaborate spectacle in honor of Ernst Ludwig. The short staged vocal work, entitled *Apollo ermunterte seine Musen*, served as a prologue to a revival

¹³³ Maaß, “Hälfte des Lebens,” 45.

¹³⁴ Kaiser, *Barocktheater in Darmstadt*, 92.

of Keiser's *Orpheus* (Figure 5.11).¹³⁵ The libretto, however, does not name a composer; that it was followed by an opera by Keiser opens the possibility that he wrote it as well. However, I think it is more likely that instead Graupner wrote this prologue.¹³⁶ Though evidence does not exist to precisely date the performance within the year 1709, it must have taken place before March, when the Landgrave departed Hamburg.

Graupner's first employment contract at the Darmstadt court is dated January 28, 1709, and is thus from the same month as the purchase of the house on the Gänsemarkt.¹³⁷ This was at least Ernst Ludwig's third visit to Hamburg since 1705, and so surely he had already come to know Graupner and/or his music; it seems unlikely that he would offer him a permanent position at the court upon their first meeting. Among other things, Graupner's contract says the following:

die Music sowohl in alß außer der Kirchen, nach anleitung des Ihme erteilten gnädigsten Special Befehls, dirigiren, besonders aber sich zum accompagniren auf dem Clavir, so oft es nötig, gebrauchen laßen, wie nicht weniger componiren ... auch Er, Unßer Vice-Capell Meister, seinen Rang immediate nach Unßerm Renth Cammern Secretario, Sahlfelden, haben, und dabey maintainirt werden solle.¹³⁸

[He shall] direct the music both in and outside the church, according to the commands of his graciousness, but especially to accompany on the clavier as often as necessary, and to compose no less than is needed ... He, Our Vice Kapellmeister, shall have a rank immediately below our Chamber Secretary Sahlfelden, and thereby shall be maintained.

¹³⁵ There is no genre given for the work on its title page, it is identified only as a "Prologo." The libretto is laid out in a manner very similar to other Hamburg opera libretti, but it is very short: only three pages.

¹³⁶ Wilhelm Kleefeld also suggests that Graupner composed this prelude. See Wilhelm Kleefeld, *Landgraf Ernst Ludwig von Hessen-Darmstadt und die deutsche Oper: eine musikhistorische Studie über die alte Darmstädter Hofbühne* (Berlin: Hofmann, 1904), 26.

¹³⁷ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 108–10.

¹³⁸ Bill, "Dokumente zum Leben," 108–9; Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 171.

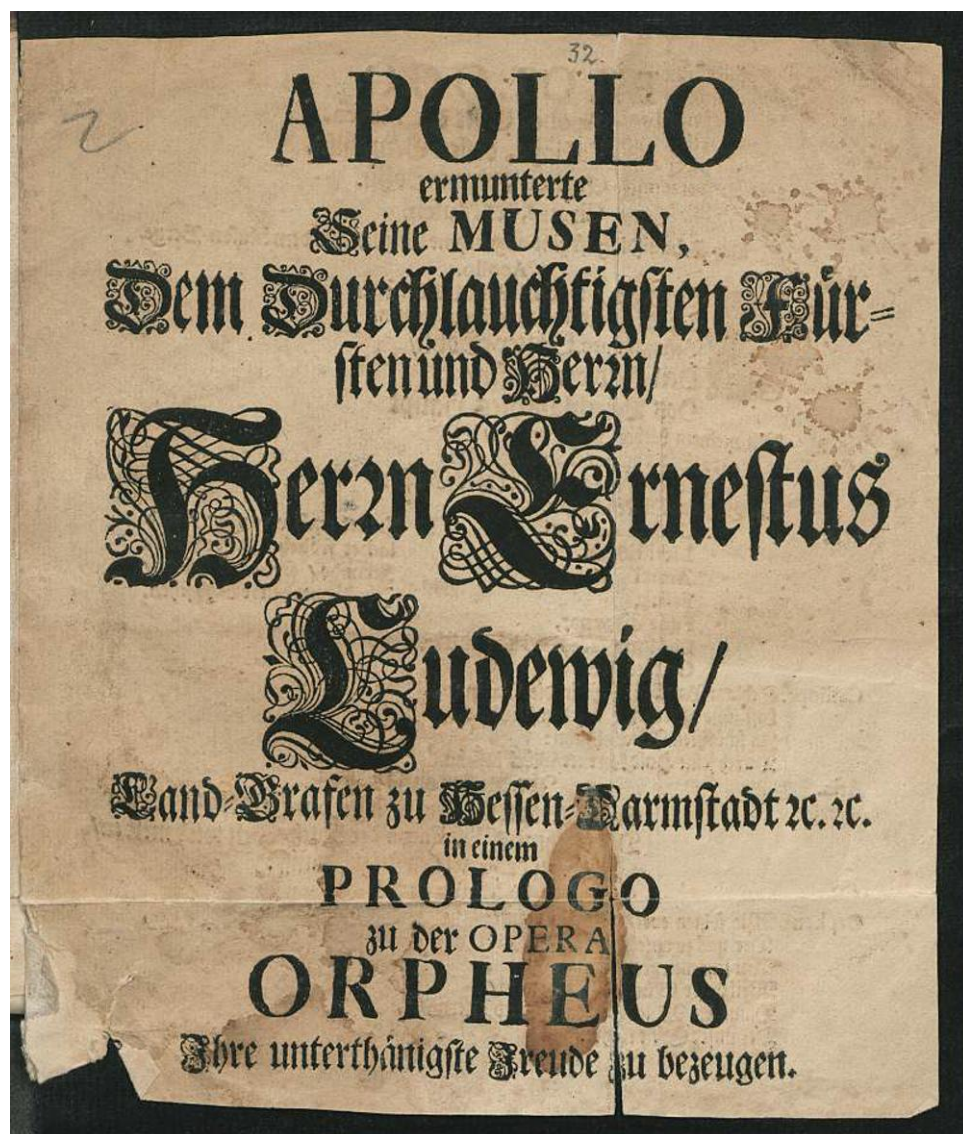


Figure 5.11: *Apollo ermunterte seine Musen* (Hamburg, 1709)

If the performance of *Apollo* took place in January, before Graupner's contract was finalized, is it perhaps possible that it was Graupner's audition piece for the position of Darmstadt Kapellmeister. Alternatively, if it took place after the signing of Graupner's contract, this would make it his first work in the service of the Landgrave. Regardless of when, or whether, Graupner composed this prologue, the fact remains clear: Ernst Ludwig returned from Hamburg having hired an *opera composer* who would go on to write mostly *church music*.

During Ernst Ludwig's time in Hamburg he must also have come to know Mattheson. Three decades later, Mattheson not only dedicated his *Vollkommener Kapellmeister* to Ernst Ludwig, he also wrote a lengthy dedicatory preface.¹³⁹ In it, in addition to the usual flowery language that accompanies a dedication to a ruler, Mattheson vividly recalled their earlier interactions. He praised Ernst Ludwig as "not only the best critic [Kunstrichter] and most discriminating connoisseur of art [Kenner] but also one of the mightiest defenders and one of the greatest patrons of the sciences of harmony."¹⁴⁰ Mattheson went on, writing that when he last saw him in Hanau, the Landgrave still recalled their earlier encounters, presumably in Hamburg, during which time Mattheson had accompanied Ernst

¹³⁹ In the original volume (Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* [Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739]), the preface is unnumbered. The dedicatory page is reprinted and translated, and the preface only translated in Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 31–34.

¹⁴⁰ Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 33; Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, unnumbered dedication.

Ludwig's singing on the keyboard.¹⁴¹ The prince then was no mere dilettante, but a serious patron of music, with the commensurate knowledge.¹⁴²

Table 5.3: Graupner's Darmstadt Operas

| Year ¹⁴³ | Opera | Libretto | Score |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------|------------|
| 1710 | Berenice und Lucilla | D-W | D-W |
| 1711 | Telemach | | |
| 1715 | La Costanza vince L'Inganno | D-W | D-DS; D-Gs |
| 1719 | Adone ¹⁴⁴ | | |

Graupner set to work composing cantatas, “inside the church,” almost as soon as he arrived in Darmstadt: his earliest work in this genre is *Sehet welch ein Mensch*, GWV 1127/09. The cantata was composed in March 1709, and was first performed on Good Friday, March 29th. Knowing that Ernst Ludwig returned from Hamburg in this same month, it could be the case that Graupner accompanied him back. If so, Graupner set to work composing in the church, as specified in his contract, the very same month of his arrival. Yet, like his predecessor Briegel, he began also to compose “outside the church” (see Table 5.3). His first opera for Darmstadt, *Berenice und Lucilla*, was performed in

¹⁴¹ Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 33; Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, unnumbered dedication.

¹⁴² The Graupner biography from 1781 describes Ernst Ludwig as a “friend and connoisseur of music” (Freund und Kenner der Musick) (Bill, “Dokumente zum Leben,” 86). As a child, in addition to his studies with Briegel, he had studied with the gambist August Kühnel and the lutenist Johann Valentin Strobel (Großpietsch, *Graupners Ouverturen und Tafelmusiken*, 19). He was even an accomplished composer in his own right, authoring several suites and overtures (ibid., 19–20, esp. n. 23).

¹⁴³ In the New Grove works list, Andrew D. McCredie, “Graupner, Christoph,” in *Grove Music Online*, accessed April 15, 2011, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11654> lists an additional, unknown and lost opera from 1709.

¹⁴⁴ McCredie, “Christoph Graupner as Opera Composer,” 116; Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964), 129.

1710, Graupner's second year in the city. Unfortunately, there is no extant libretto for the original performance, but a libretto preserved in Wolfenbüttel dates a revival to June 1712. The score, long believed lost, was recently rediscovered, also in Wolfenbüttel.¹⁴⁵ The score is 152 pages long, and is entirely in the hand of Graupner himself. Like the Hamburg operas, this work is a mixture of Italian and German; as the title page of the libretto specifies, the work is based on an Italian model, and likely the arias (and only arias, no recitatives) that are still in that language are simply taken over from the model.

The opera begins with a French overture, followed immediately for a continuo aria for Lucius Verus (bass; performed by Gottfried Grünewald¹⁴⁶). The work as a whole shows a preponderance of continuo arias, and lengthy recitatives. The fully scored arias often make use of extended passages in unison for the strings.¹⁴⁷ The vocal parts can be quite virtuosic: in one aria, "Ich verbanne, verwerffe die Schöne" (Act 1, Scene 4), the Lucius Verus responds to a barrage of thirty-second notes from the strings with two measures of his own. While the majority of the arias are scored for a typical combination of strings and continuo, there are several moments of strikingly original orchestration. In "Vieni o caro" (Act 1, Scene 10; see Figure 5.12), which takes place in a prison cell, Berenice (soprano) sings for her love to

¹⁴⁵ Ursula Kramer, "Zwischen Hamburg und Venedig: Christoph Graupners Darmstädter Oper *Berenice und Lucilla*. Versuch einer librettistischen Standortbestimmung," *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 6 (2011): 37–56.

¹⁴⁶ Schmidt, "Christmas Cantatas," 21; Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 174.

¹⁴⁷ Often the violincello is given its own line in the score. This seems to be a particular quirk of Graupner's early time in Darmstadt, as he does the same thing in cantata scores from this time. Only rarely does the separate violoncello line, written directly above the voice part(s), deviate from the continuo line on the bottom staff.



Figure 5.12: Graupner, “Vieni o caro,” *Berenice e Lucilla* (1710)

come back to her. Graupner evokes the pleasant subject against the dark setting in a lilting 12/8 in A major, using two solo violins, ripieno violins unison, and three oboes, plus continuo. The aria is rather obsessively involved with the motive in the solo violins, set in thirds: dotted-16th–32nd–8th–8th. This is set against triads in the three oboes; the continuo rarely has more than a quarter note on the strong beats. The A section concludes in the tonic, and the B section begins in the dominant; the texture thins out, with the oboes dominating over the violins, and the speed of text delivery increases. The section

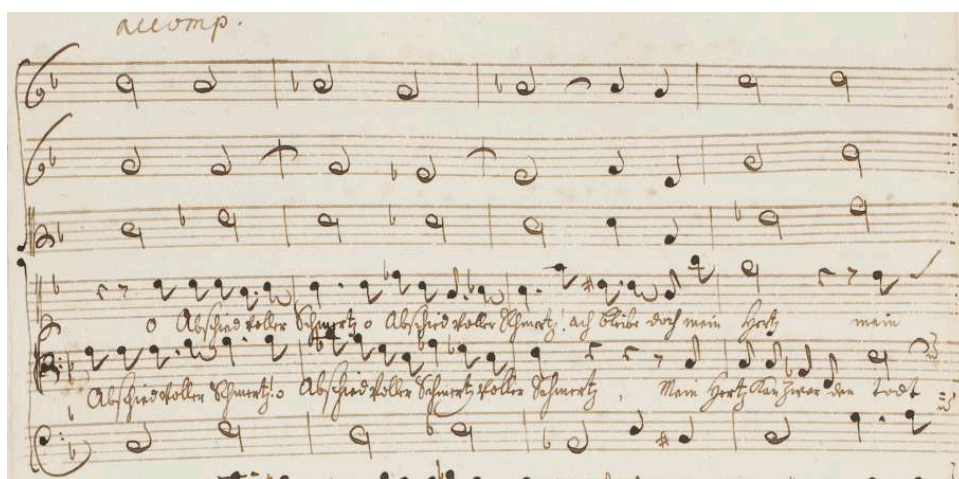


Figure 5.13: Graupner, “O Abschied voller Schmerz,” *Berenice e Lucilla* (1710)

ends in the relative minor before returning to the A section for the da capo.

The accompanied duet recitative “O Abschied voller Schmerz” (Act 2, Scene 6; Figure 5.13) for Berenice and her husband Vologesus (tenor) takes a similar form to an accompanied recitative by Reinhard Keiser (see, for example, Figure 5.7). Graupner combines the technique of slowly shifting chords in the strings with the ‘double recitative’ pioneered by Keiser. While for Vologesus the farewell truly is sorrowful, Berenice is actually in love with Lucius Verus. In his aria “In einer stillen Liebes-See” (Act 2, Scene 7; Figure 5.14), Anicetus (tenor), who is in love with Lucilla, metaphorically likens his heart to a fragile ship that could wreck on the beach of hope (“Hoffnungs-Strand”). To capture the flowing waves, Graupner uses three separate viola lines, the top line of which is doubled by a flute. One aria for Berenice (soprano), “Rendimi il mio diletto” (Act 3, Scene 8), is even scored for violetta (an instrument frequently used in the cantatas as well) and “Flauto Ottava Alta” (presumably a sopranino recorder).



Figure 5.14: Graupner, “In einer stillen Liebes-See,” *Berenice e Lucilla* (1710)

Musical life at the Darmstadt court reached even greater heights with the production of Graupner's *Telemach* on February 17, 1711.¹⁴⁸ Elisabeth Noack refers to this performance as the “highpoint of Darmstadt theatre history.”¹⁴⁹ Virtuosos were recruited from across Germany to participate in the spectacle, including Johann Elisabeth Döbricht (a soprano from Leipzig, praised by Telemann as one of the greatest singers of her time) and Johann Georg Pisendel (“the foremost violinist of his day”).¹⁵⁰ Following this performance, the Landgrave was able to secure the services of many of these singers and instrumentalists on a permanent basis. (Pisendel, however, returned to Leipzig, and would go on to be-

¹⁴⁸ This date was Carnival Tuesday (“Fastnachtsdienstag”), the day before Ash Wednesday, which marks the beginning of Lent. The opera was repeated twice that same month, on February 19th and 30th. Unfortunately neither a score nor a libretto for this opera survives.

¹⁴⁹ Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 176.

¹⁵⁰ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 364–65; Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts*, 176.

come concertmaster in Dresden.) It must be emphasized that these musicians did not only perform in the opera: their primary responsibility was the performance of Graupner's cantatas in the court chapel. "Unlike Bach, who had to deal with students in the choirs at Leipzig," writes Schmidt, "Graupner had at his disposal some of the finest musicians in Germany."¹⁵¹

One particularly important addition to the Darmstadt Kapelle was Gottfried Grünewald (b. 1675), whom Graupner had known since their time together in Leipzig, and who had preceded him in moving to Hamburg. Grünewald certainly performed in the performance of *Telemach*, possibly in the title role, though this cannot be known for sure, given the loss of the performing materials. After leaving Hamburg in 1709, Grünewald served as vice Kapellmeister at Weissenfels, under J. P. Krieger, whose daughter he married.¹⁵² This was the same Krieger whom Neumeister had praised as the "Chenania of Weissenfels" (a reference to 1 Chronicles 15:22, in which Chenania teaches the Levites to sing) and whom Spitta credits with having implanted the idea of the radical style change in Neumeister's mind.¹⁵³ It is hard to imagine that this connection between Krieger and Graupner, via Grünewald, did not lead to musical transfer or inspiration of some kind. Graupner and Grünewald must have been friends: the Graupners served as godparents to five of Grünewald's ten children.¹⁵⁴ Graupner mentions

¹⁵¹ Schmidt, "Christmas Cantatas," 23–24.

¹⁵² Wilibald Nagel, "Gottfried Grünewald," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12, no. 1 (December 1910): 100.

¹⁵³ For the relevant passage from Neumeister, see page 239; for Spitta, see *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 1:472.

¹⁵⁴ Nagel, "Gottfried Grünewald," 100–1.

his premature death, on December 19, 1739, in his autobiography.¹⁵⁵

Yet these musical heights had their consequences. Criticism continued from the Darmstadt clergy, in particular the Pietist-leaning pastors Bielefeld and Philip Bindewald.¹⁵⁶ Their criticisms were leveled not only against the opera, but also against any “galant” entertainments, including card games, dancing and theatre. Bindewald’s attacks grew personal: he condemned the Landgrave directly for his love of women and hunting. But it was not the religiously-grounded criticism that led to the downfall of the opera. Rather, it was the enormous costs of the operation.¹⁵⁷

The reputation lingered on years after the opera had closed.¹⁵⁸

Graupner’s ‘Church Operas’

We have seen, then, that it can fairly be said that Graupner grew up in the opera, rather than the church.

As for musical style, however, it is hardly novel to note that the cantata draws on operatic forms. To say that the cantata and the opera both use da capo arias, or even broader Italian vocabulary, is no surprise.

My point, then, is not so much to note the existence of these features, of their similarity, but to provide

¹⁵⁵ Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 412.

¹⁵⁶ Wilibald Nagel, “Das Leben Christoph Graupners,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 10, no. 4 (September 1909): 583–84.

¹⁵⁷ See page 17.

¹⁵⁸ It should also be emphasized that the singers who were engaged for the opera remained in Darmstadt even after it closed. See Christoph Großpietsch, “45 Jahre neue ‘Kirchen-Music’: Anmerkungen zu Graupners Kantaten und ihrem Kontext,” *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 4 (2007): 7.

a rationale. In other words, I am seeking to blur the line between the theatrical and the liturgical, at least for Graupner and his patron. There is perhaps a difference of degree in his cantata expression from his operatic expression, but, I argue, there is no real difference in *kind*.

Table 5.4: Graupner, *Es kann nicht anders sein*, GWV 1133/11 (1711)

1. Aria (DC): “Es kann nicht anders sein”
2. Recitative (Accomp): “Die Welt, und wer es mit ihr hält”
3. Aria (DC): “Mein Hertz, so gib dich nur darein”
4. Recitative (Secco): “Eh das gelobte Land”
5. Aria: “Ich dulde mich, und leide”

For *Jubilate* (April 26), 1711 Graupner set a text from Neumeister’s first published cycle, the very one containing the preface discussed earlier.¹⁵⁹ Entitled *Es kann nicht anders sein*, GWV 1133/11 (It cannot be otherwise), the cantata is scored for solo soprano, flute, oboes, strings and continuo, and consists of five movements (Table 5.4).¹⁶⁰ Typical for the genre, the cantata begins with an admonishment of our worldly sinfulness, and progresses through the redemption of our sins through Christ’s crucifixion, concluding with the sentiment that earthly suffering can be borne, knowing the reward the faithful one will receive in heaven. As is typical for Neumeister’s first cycle, the cantata consists only of an alternation of arias with recitatives: there is no introductory biblical dictum or closing chorale, both

¹⁵⁹ Between August 1709 and May 1711, Graupner set a total of eleven texts from this publication; seven of these eleven are from 1709 alone. *Es kann nicht anders sein* was the second last Neumeister text set by Graupner. See Marc-Roderich Pfau, “Erdmann Neumeister als Kantatendichter Graupners: Elf Texte in den frühen Kantaten entdeckt,” *Mitteilungen der Christoph-Graupner-Gesellschaft* 4 (2007): 29–30.

¹⁶⁰ The complete cantata is transcribed in Appendix B, beginning on page 248.

[3] Aria

Flauto

Violetta

Soprano

Continuo

Mein Herz, so gib dich nur dar - ein, so gib dich nur dar - ein.

Figure 5.15: Graupner, “Mein Herz, so gib dich nur darein,” *Es kann nicht anders sein*, GWV 1133/11, mm. 1–25.

of which become standard features of the genre within a few years.

The third movement aria, “Mein Hertz, so gib dich nur darein” (My heart, acquiesce), is thus something of a musical climax, an intimate meditation upon servitude and salvation (Table 5.5). We can observe from the outset an approach to ritornello construction very similar to the Handel example.

Somewhat more loosely, the opening can still be divided into three parts (mm. 1–9, 10–14, 15–18, see Figure 5.15), with the dissonant repetition of E in the viola against the flute’s held D likely meant to suggest the beating of the heart. Again, the voice enters with a motto, comprised of the first line of text, before the ritornello, paraphrased, interrupts. The voice re-enters in m. 27, with a complete textual statement, modulating to the relative major in m. 43, by way of a re-worked ritornello *Epilog*. The vocal line becomes more animated, describing the steadfastness of God’s servant, holding a high F for four measures against the ritornello motive to symbolize this. The final two lines of text, describing the weight of the believer’s personal cross, are in G minor, and the voice and flute trail off together on the word “patience” before the “da capo.”

Table 5.5: Graupner, “Mein Hertz, so gib dich nur darein,”
 GWV 1133/11, mvt. 3

| | |
|---|--|
| Mein Hertz, so gib dich nur darein. | My heart, acquiesce, |
| Es wird nichts anders draus. | nothing else will become of it. |
| Wenn du wilt GOttes Diener seyn, | If you want to be God’s servant, |
| So halt beständig aus. | Then remain steadfast. |
| Ob gleich das Joch des Creutzes schmerzt, | Although the yoke of the cross is painful, |
| So sage du darbey behertzt: | So you whole-heartedly say: |
| Gedult! | Patience! |

Unfortunately, this cantata is one of only 30 instances among the 1,413 extant cantatas where no performance parts survive. The autograph score clearly indicates “Da Capo,” but fails to specify where the “Fine” should be. The challenge arises from the relative paucity of cadences in the tonic. The only really workable solution is simply to end the aria on the first cadence in the tonic, right before

the re-entry of the voice. This is, coincidentally, exactly what happens in Handel's "Almira regiere."

Neumeister's text was not written in the typical da capo manner, though other arias in this cycle are.

Evidently the challenges of the new cantata form were still being worked out.

* * *

In conclusion, we have seen that Graupner's musical upbringing closely entwined with theatrical music broadly construed, particularly opera. Any account that sees his ultimate employment primarily as a church composer is thereby a distortion. At the Darmstadt court, not only was the cantata inseparable from opera, it even, especially after 1722, served as a substitute for it. Aesthetic appreciation and artistic enjoyment were inseparable from it, even though the performances took place in a liturgical context. While in Leipzig, the congregation may not even have listened to the cantata, in Darmstadt, it may have been the main reason they came.

Furthermore, we have seen that the very word "cantata" is troublesome, since it is used to refer to so many genres. First, we cannot extend the term backward to the seventeenth century, or even early Bach, lest we try to make an unwarranted evolutionary model fit.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, I suggest that when referring to the "new" German sacred cantata (in the manner of Graupner, Telemann, Stölzel, Fasch or mid-to-late Bach) we ought to construe it as directly derived from opera, even if the place it takes

¹⁶¹ This terminological confusion dates even from the later eighteenth century: C. P. E. Bach's *Verzeichnis des musikalischen Nachlasses* (Hamburg: Schneides, 1790), 70 refers to "Gott ist mein König", the coffee cantata and "Ich bin in mir vergnügt" all as "Cantate." It even uses the Gothic font, suggesting that this was not thought of as a foreign term.

in the service was originally occupied by biblical chant or a dictum motet. This recognition allows for insightful and challenging discussions of connections between cantatas and the opera, whether in Hamburg or Leipzig. It also avoids the unfortunate consequences of disciplinary siloing, wherein the scholars studying sacred music do not engage in a dialogue with those studying opera. Finally, given the extensive losses of both the Leipzig and Hamburg operas, the only two public opera houses in Germany at this time, maybe the cantata can even shed light on opera.

Conclusion

This dissertation, by its very nature, is necessarily incomplete: it represents the beginning of a long project, rather than its conclusion. Even in a project such as this, one can only begin to scratch the surface of such a vast repertory, and I foresee decades more work trying to uncover more details. I have tried, therefore, to raise questions more than to provide answers. The field of Graupner studies is comparatively new; serious and extensive research has been taking place only for three or four decades. Future work, for instance, must address the texts of the cantatas in greater detail. For the majority of the works, the only extant source for the text is the cantata, and these have yet to be transcribed. Another issue is the need for detailed examination of all of the performing parts, which I have engaged with in summary fashion.

Today, there is something of a Graupner renaissance underway. Several recent recordings, most notably by Genviève Soly, Florian Heyerick and Hermann Max, have featured his music. Likewise, in the last ten years or so, several dozen of his instrumental and vocal compositions have been published

for the first time. There has been a commensurate increase in scholarly focus as well, led by, among others, Oswald Bill, Ursula Kramer, Christoph Großpietsch and Joanna Cobb Biermann. Admittedly, we are unlikely to see the complete publication or recording of his enormous oeuvre, but any work to bring to light the life and music of this fascinating and important figure in eighteenth-century music history is to be commended.

I am not arguing in this dissertation that Graupner is an unjustly maligned Kleinmeister, who deserves to be restored to the pantheon of the canonic great composers, alongside Bach or Handel. Rather what I am trying to show is that the notion of some cantatas, or even some operas, as canonic—and therefore deserving of our time and attention—and others as not, obscures more than it reveals. Furthermore I have attempted to illuminate the broader genre—I am careful to avoid saying that we can better understand Bach, for instance, through Graupner.

Though a network, strictly speaking, does not really have any edges, I have shown that Graupner is not at the periphery of early eighteenth-century German music culture, but stood instead at its center. Having trained in Leipzig and Hamburg—two of the most cosmopolitan cities within the German realm—his move to Darmstadt must not be seen as exile to a cultural backwater. Darmstadt, particularly between its rebuilding in the 1680s and the closing of the opera in 1722, was a leading cultural light. Ernst Ludwig could have hired any composer, and he chose Graupner, and put at his disposal some of the foremost singers and instrumentalists in Europe.

Yet this is also inevitably a story of decline. On the micro level, cultural production in Darmstadt could not be financed by debt indefinitely, and, on the macro level, the cantata simply became a less relevant part of Lutheran worship as the century progressed. While Graupner's cantatas were of immediate utility value to his successor Endler in the 1760s, by the nineteenth century, their value was more notional than actual. Yet, perversely, it is this fact that makes them such a resource for scholars today. Had the estate been divided, sold off to collectors and libraries, its value to us today would be compromised.

I am hopeful that we can gradually redefine the genre of the eighteenth-century Lutheran cantata as an "unstable collection of related entities," rather than a static mould into which various pieces are slotted.¹⁶² In other words, while, at least in this case, the coherence of the genre is something of a necessary fiction, it can at least be a more comprehensive, more accurate one. It was a fundamentally innovative genre, derived from opera, and developed simultaneously by a group of theologians, librettists and composers across Germany.

Graupner's cantatas also grant us insight into the complex of issues surrounding functionality versus artistic autonomy. As Karol Berger has written, outdated notions of the later would seem to exclude Bach's cantatas from the context of art music.¹⁶³ Graupner's cantatas, however, give us a more nuanced

¹⁶² For a broader theorization of the concept of the 'unstable genre,' see Eric Drott, "The End(s) of Genre," *Journal of Music Theory* 57, no. 1 (2013): 1–45.

¹⁶³ Karol Berger, "The Ends of Music History, or: The Old Masters in the Supermarket of Cultures," *The Journal of Musicology* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 187–88.

understanding of the role of the cantata in the Lutheran church service. While, like Bach's, they are still fundamentally grounded in the of functional liturgical music, the element of abstract aesthetic contemplation is considerably more pronounced. We see this, for instance, in the landgrave's treatment of the church cantata as, effectively, a surrogate for opera. Initially, the same singers performed in the same venues, but, after the opera house closed, the landgrave retained the same singers exclusively for church performance. Were the cantatas simply performing a purely liturgical function, it is hard to imagine that the court would have been so concerned with the quality of the performers. Thus, Graupner's cantatas afford for us an opportunity not only to deepen our understanding of the genre, but also to change the way relate to it. No mere functional music, his cantatas are works of art, appreciated as such in Graupner's own time, and, increasingly, in ours.

Appendix A

Original German Texts

Graupner's Entry in the *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*

For ease of reference, I include here a complete transcription (and eventually a translation) of the entry on Graupner in Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 410–13. Unless otherwise noted, footnotes are original—editorial insertions are marked in square brackets. Likewise, within the text itself, page numbers in the original are given in square brackets. The original is typeset as a lengthy quotation; here this is rendered as a block quote. All spelling and capitalization are preserved as in the original. However ligatures have not been preserved, and medial hyphens are transcribed as regular hyphens, rather than double-hyphens.

Graupner.

† *

(ex autogr.)

Ausser dem, was bereits von ihm im waltherschen Wörterbuche stehet, schreibt mir den berühmte Capellmeister, **Christoph Graupner**, in einem Briefe vom 21. May so den 20. Junii erst erhalten, unter andern folgende Nachricht eigenhändig zu.

Den Anfang zur Musik machte ich in meinem siebenden oder achten¹ Jahr, vermittelt des Claviers, bey dem Organisten **N. Küster**, zu Kirchberg, als an meinem Geburthsort. Weil ich aber auch schon in der Schule, bey dem damahligen Cantore, Wolfgang Michael

¹ Aus dieser Angabe und folgender Zeitrechnung ist zu schliessen, daß er etwa 1683. oder 1684. gebohren sey. [Graupner was born on January 13, 1683.]

Mylius, im Singen so weit gekommen war, daß ich wenigstens, was mir vorgeleget wurde, ziemlicher maassen treffen kunte: so gieng es mit dem Clavier desto besser von statten. (Man mercke es.)

Als aber dieser **Küster** von Kirchberg wegzog, und nach Reichenbach zum Organisten-Dienst berufen wurde, hielt ich bey meinen Eltern so lange an, biß sie mich auch nach Reichenbach hinschickten, woselbst ich bey zwey Jahr in die Schule ging, und von gedachtem Meister mehr Unterricht bekam. Von dannen begab ich mich nach Leipzig, und verharrete allda über 9. Jahr auf der **Thomasschule**. Der Cantor, **Johann Schelle**, hatte viele Liebe für mich, und weil er meinen natürlichen Trieb zur Musik vermerckte, [p. 411] gab er mir selbst auf dem Clavier, auch zu einer bessern Art im Singen, noch weitere und gründlichere Anleitung.

Immittelst hatte ich bey dem nachherigen Capellmeister in Dresden, **Johann David Heinichen**, auch den Anfang zur Composition gemacht, worin es mir ziemlich gerieth, indem ich den Vortheil des **Singens** (NB.) und Claviers schon vor mir hatte. Da hiernächst **Johann Kuhnau**, vormahls Organist an der **Thomas-Kirche**, zum Cantor befördert² wurde, genossen wir beide miteinander, **Heinichen** und ich, seiner Anweisung, so wohl auf dem Clavier, als in der Setzkunst. Weil ich mich auch bey **Kuhnau**, als Notist, von selbst anbot, und eine gute Zeit für ihn schrieb, gab mir solches gewünschte Gelegenheit, viel gutes zu sehen, und wo etwa ein Zweifel entstund, um mündlichen Bericht zu bitten, wie dieses oder jenes zu verstehen? Durch den täglichen Fleiß gerieth es also nach und nach dahin, daß ich mich weder in Kirchen- noch theatralischen Sachen nicht sonderlich mehr zu fürchten hatte; sondern fest ging.

Die Schulzeit war nunmehr aus. Doch blieb ich noch 2 Jahr in Leipzig, auf der dasigen Universität, und war Willens, mich auf die Rechtsgelehrsamkeit zu legen; hielte auch meine Collegia, so viel mein Vermögen zu ließ: biß endlich 1706. die Schweden in Sachsen kamen, und mir mein Concept ziemlich verrückten. In solcher Verwirrung entschloß ich mich, nach Hamburg zu gehen; doch war ich nicht Willens, lange daselbst zu bleiben: wie ich denn auch deswegen meine Stube in Leipzig nicht aufkündigte, sondern alle meine Bücher und Musikalien da ließ; vornehmlich viele schöne Manuscripte, davon ich hernach gar wenig wiederfand. Ich wartete also nur auf Geld von meinen Eltern. Meine Briefe mogten aber nicht wohl bestellet worden, daß es lange verzog: biß endlich ein schwerer Bündel anlangte, worin ich Geld vermuthete; zu meiner Befremdung doch nur Streusand und Goldfarbe fand, welches, wie ich nach der Hand vernahm, an einem andern Orte hätte bestellet werden sollen.

Nichts desto weniger setzte ich meine vorgenommene Reise in Gottes Nahmen fort. Da ich nun nach Hamburg kam, war der Beutel leer, biß auf etwa zween Reichsthaler. Das

² [Mattheson:] Das geschah im Jahr 1700. wie Heinichen und Graupner, ungefähr 17. biß 18. Jahr alt waren. [Heinichen was born on April 17, 1683, and so was just four months younger than Graupner.]

Glück, oder vielmehr die göttliche Vorsehung fügte es inzwischen so wunderbar, daß **Johann Christian Schieferdecker**, eben den Tag vor meine Ankunfft, von Hamburg, wo er in den Opern das Clavier geschlagen hatte, weg, und nach Lübeck, zur [p. 412] Bekleidung eines dasigen Organisten-Dienstes, hingereifet war: da ich denn, an dessen Stelle in Hamburg zu verbleiben, mich bereden ließ, und in der Oper den Flügel spielte, auch mit solcher Verrichtung drey Jahr fortfuhr, einfolglich immer mehr Gelegenheit bekam, mich in der theatralischen Schreibart zu üben.

Ich sehnte mich aber hernach von dieser mühsamen Beschäftigung bald weg: nicht der Arbeit halber, die ich gerne that; sondern wegen andrer dabey vorfallenden Verdrieslichkeiten. Meine Sehnsucht wurde auch kurtz darauf gestillet. Und da ich sonst nicht gar viel von den meisten Träumen halte, träumte mir doch zu dieser Zeit, auf eine sehr werckwürdige Art, als ob ich einen gantz grossen, und hellen Stern von oben herunter auf mich zukehren sähe, und mich über dessen sonderbare Schönheit verwunderte. Es waren noch viele andre Umstände [*sic*] bey demselben Traum, die alle nach der Hand eingetroffen haben.

Kurtz darauf kam der damahls-regierende Herr **Landgraft** von Darmstadt nach Hamburg, deßen Hochfürstliche Durchlauchtigkeit mich sehr gnädigst befragen liessen, ob ich wohl Lust hätte, mit nach Darmstadt zu gehen? Ich sagte gleich in aller Unterthänigkeit ja, und wie mir angedeutet wurde, meine Besoldung selbst zu fordern, stellte ich solche der Fürstlichen Gnade lediglich anheim, und nahm die Bestallung an, zuerst als Vice-Capellmeister, weil der alte Capellmeister, **Wolfgang Carl Briegel**,³ noch lebte.

Als ich nach dem das Hochfürstliche Wapen zu Gesichte bekam, so sahe ich darin meinen mir im Traum erschienenen schönen Stern, welchen ich also nicht anders deuten konnte, als auf meinen gar gnädigsten Herrn selbst, dem ich bey 30. Jahr zu dienen die Ehre gehabt habe. Im Jahre 1723 sollte ich nach Leipzig, als Cantor, hinkommen: alles war auch in so weit schon richtig; es kam aber so viel dazwischen, daß es nicht angehen konnte. Itzund habe das Glück und die Gnade, so lange es GOtt gefällt, das nunmehr regierenden Herrn Landgrafens Hochfürstliche Durchlauchtigkeit, als Capellmeister, zu dienen, wobey mir die gantze Arbeit allein zugewachsen, nachdem der gute **Grünwald** vor einem halben Jahre verstorben ist. Er bat mich noch auf seinem Todtbette, wenn ich schriebe, an Ew. Hoch-Edelgebohrnen seinen Abschiedsgruß zu vermelden. Ich bin also mit Geschäften dermaassen überhäusset, daß ich fast gar nichts anders verrichten kan, und [p. 413] nur immer sorgen muß, mit meiner Composition fertig zu werden, indem ein Sonn- und Fest-Tag dem andern die Hand bietet, auch noch öfters andre Vorfälle dazwischen kommen.

³ Da dieser Mann 1626. gebohren worden, muß er sein Alter hoch gebracht, und um obbemeldte Zeit schon etliche 80. Jahr zurück gelegt haben. [Briegel died on November 19, 1712.]

Mattheson on the Cantata

Des Musicalischen Patrioten
Dreizehnte Betrachtung.
Universus Mundus exercet Histrionam.

Eine unvernünftige Gewohnheit dichtet oft gewissen Wörtern eine gehäßige Bedeutung an, die sie gar nicht verdienen: indem sie von Natur einer andern, als vortheilhaften Auslegung, fähig sind. Leute von Nachdencken haben sich allemahl ärgern müssen, wenn unbesonnene Heuchler und scheinheilige Tropffen von einer pathetischen Figural-Musik in der Kirche, ohne was davon zu verstehen, auf eine spöttische Art haben sagen wollen: **Sie sey theatralisch!** Nicht anders, als ob das Wort theatralisch ein schimpfliches Wort wäre, dabey man nur die Nase rümpffen, und das Maul krümmen dürffte.

Kirchen-Music, und andre rechtschaffene, harmonische Verrichtungen sind alle miteinander einerley Ursprungs, einerley Wesens, einerley Geschlechts, und haben auch, gewisser massen, einerley Zweck, eben als Orationes; sie sind nur in ihrem Gegenstande, durch den Gebrauch, in der Anwendung, gleichsam zufälliger Weise, in *Species* vertheilet, und daher entspringet *Differentia Stili*. **Die Kirchen-Music** (schreibt ein kluger Mann) **soll nur darin von der weltlichen unterschieden seyn, daß sie die Ausdrückung, das deutliche und vernehmliche Wesen in einem höhern Grad besitze, auch sich weniger, als die andre, um den Auf-Putz bekümmere.** D. i. Sie soll nicht so wol schön von aussen gleissen, als gründlichen, innerlichen Nachdruck haben. *Hist. de la Mus. Tome IV. p. 58.*

Ich habe sonst in der Kirche (so fremd einem auch die Worte scheinen) eben die Absicht mit der Music, als in der Opera, nemlich diese: **Daß ich die Gemüths-Neigungen der Zuhörer rege machen, und auf gewisse Weise in Bewegung bringen will, es sey zur Liebe, zum Mitleid, zur Freude, zur Traurigkeit &c.** “Die Worte einer geistliche Music (heißt es bey obigem Frantzösischen Verfasser) müssen beweglich und abwechselnd seyn, voller Gemüths-Neigungen und Veränderungen.” *Il faut que les paroles d’une Musique Ecclesiastique soient affectives & diversifiées, susceptibles de passion & de variété.*

Wo fürchtet, oder wünschet man wol wichtigere Dinge, als bey unserm vernünftigen GOTTes-Dienst? Alle Opern-Affecten und Paßiones sind dagegen kalt Werck, erdichtet, lächerlich, vergänglich. Hier allein, nemlich bey dem GOTTes-Dienst, sind gar hefftige, ernstliche, dauerhafte, und **höchst-angelegentliche** Gemüths-Bewegungen nötig. **“Da die Gedancken und Meynungen in unsern Kirchen-Stücken weit erheblicher sind, als in den Opern-Arien, [”]** (sagt mehr ermeldter Scribent) **[“]so erfordern sie auch eine weit stärckere Ausdrückung.[”]**

Mit Erlaubniß! Ich muß die eigentliche Worte des ungenannten Verfassers hersetzen, sie stellen seine Gedancken deutlicher vor: *Les sentimens de nos Motets etant infiniment plus importants, que ceux de nos Aires d’Opera, exigent une expression infiniment plus forte. p. 59. l. c.* Wer Lust hat, kann daselbst auch p. 72. eine sehr artige Vergleichung zwischen Kirchen- und Opern-Music (das heisse ich Geist- und Weltliche Harmonien) nachlesen. Sie lautet im Teutschen also:

Wenn die Kirchen-Music mit den Opern verglichen wird, als wodurch man unfehlbar auf die rechten Sprünge kommen kann, so werden wir befinden, daß die allerschönste Opera,

welche, wenn sie nicht gut aufgeführt wird, wenig sagen will, dennoch aus zweien Stücken ihr gantzes Aufnehmen holet, nemlich aus den Veränderungen der Schau-Bühne, und von den Acteurs.”

Die Veränderung des Schauplatzes begreift die Artigkeit der Scenen und Mahlerey, die Pracht der Kleidung, die Maschinen &c. In den Kirchen aber, welche, ohne Ausnahm, Schau-Bühnen der Moteten sind, findet sich weder Kleider-Pracht, noch Rüst-Zeug. Und also vertritt der Wolstand ihre Stelle, wird auch, in dem was die Music betrifft, eben solche Wirkung thun, als jene.

Die Acteurs tragen gewißlich viel bey, daß eine Opera wol heraus komme: sie werden nicht weniger zur guten Wirckung einer Motete beitragen, wenn man es recht ansieht. Ich glaube, daß ein Opern-Acteur, unter andern, drey Eigenschafften haben müsse, und (obs aus Gemächlichkeit geschicktere Wörter zu suchen geschiehet, oder, obs sich wirklich so verhält) es dünckt mich, daß eben diese drey gute Eigenschafften auch von einem Kirchen-Sänger erfordert werden. Nemlich: eine kräftige Ausdrückung desjenigen, so er hervorbringt, eine edle Einfalt, und die Lieblichkeit oder Anmuth.

Erstlich, was die kräftige Ausdrückung betrifft, so ist es die Haupt-Sache: denn eine wichtige Parthey ziehet ihre grösste Gültigkeit daraus. Lebhaftte Geberden, ein Gesicht, darauf sich die Leidenschaft der Seele abmahlet, eine Stellung, ein Gang, die sich wol zu der Person schicken, eine feste Stimme, die doch dabey geschmeidig ist, so daß sie ihre Tone entweder geschwind heraus stürzen, oder mit langsamer Abmessung hervorbringen kann, werden hier erfordert.

Solche Leute waren **Theodorus a) Roscius b) Esopus c)**, welche vom Aristoteles und Cicero bewundert worden sind.

Fürs andre erwegen wir die edle Einfalt in den Geberden, im Gesichte, in den Minen. Ein Acteur von der ersten Classe soll seine Stellungen so einrichten, daß nichts gezwungens mit unterläufft: nicht anders, als wäre er eine hohe Standes-Person in der That; fein Gesicht soll nichts widerwärtiges an sich haben, seine Geberden sollen nicht unmäßig seyn, noch der Sache zu viel thun. Im reden, so wie in den Manieren der Music, ist der Ueberfluß ein Mangel, wo es mit wenigern bestellet werden kann.

Betrachten wir aber die Lieblichkeit oder Anmuth, so ist dieselbe eben nicht durchgehends nothwendig: ja, bey gewissen Partheyen oder Personen dürffte sie sich fast gar nicht schicken. Z. E. in den beiden **Amadis** wird zwar erfordert, daß **Oriane** und **Niquea** liebens würdige, grosse und wolgestalte Frauens-Leute seyn müssen; aber **Arcabonne** und **Melissa** brauchen dieser Eigenschafften in weit geringerem Grad.

Ein guter Kirchen-Acteur muß eben solche Tugenden an sich haben, obwol von verschiedener Art. Denn was erstlich die Ausdrückung betrifft, so ist es gut, daß sein Gesicht die grossen Sachen, davon er singt, mit erforderter Lebhaftigkeit andeute; daß er einige Geberden mache, die dem Verstande der Worte zu Hülffe kommen; und daß er seine Stimme

völlig in der Macht habe. Anlangend das andre Stück, nemlich die edle Einfalt, so muß er solche eben sowol, ja in einem höhern Maß; besitzen, als der Opern-Acteur. Im dritten Punct aber, als in der Annehmlichkeit, da steckt der grösste Unterschied. Es dient zu nichts, wenn ein Kirchen-Sänger eine Figur machen, und sich nur sehen lassen will: denn, an statt der galanten Stellung, schicket sich eine gelassene und bescheidene besser für ihn. Ja es ist ein vornehmes Stück an einem solchen, daß er hundert mahl mehr bescheidenen und eingezogenen Wesens blicken laße, als der theatralische Acteur, mit seinem *Air galant*. Dennoch wollte ich, daß ein Kirchen-Sänger zwey Dinge in einem höhern Grad besäße, als der weltliche Sänger. Erstlich, die Gabe einer über die massen deutlichen Aussprache: denn, weil die Worte in den Kirchen-Stücken sehr viel zu bedeuten haben, und hoher Ehren würdig sind, gemeinlich auch in einem erhabnen Styl abgefaßt werden, welchen nicht jedermann verstehet, so bedürffen sie, daß man ihren Inhalt den Zuhörern desto vernehmlicher mache. *Itaque, (d) so redet ein gewisser Criticus, qui cantandi munere in Ecclesia fungitur, non modo cuncta verba Officiorum proferre debet, sed etiam aperte, distincte, atque articulare pronunciare. Juxta quod ait divinus Psalter: benedicite, gentes, Deum nostrum, & auditam facite vocem laudis ejus. Cum enim istae preces ad audientium documentum & aedificationem institutae sint, qui non facit illas audire, reddit inutiles.* Zum andern wollte ich haben, daß ein Kirchen-Sänger mehr von der Music verstehen sollte, als ein Operist: weil gemeinlich in den Kirchen aus der Parthey gesungen wird, und man nicht Zeit hat, seine Sachen auswendig zu lernen. &c.

Gottfr. Ephraim Scheibels zufällige Gedancken von der Kirchen-Music, zu Franckfurt und Leipzig 1721. 8. gedruckt, verdienen von allen *Theologis* und *Musicis* gelesen zu werden, die nicht, mit **Gerber**, aus einer guten Bibliothek eine unerkannte Sünde machen wollen. Es heißt daselbst, im fünfften Capitel, also: **Es bleibt ein Affect, nur daß die Objecta variiren, daß Z. E. hier ein geistlicher Schmerz, dort ein weltlicher, empfunden wird: daß man hier ein geistliches, dort ein weltliches Gut, vermißt &c.** Wie ich mich über etliche weltliche Dinge betrübe, so kann ich mich über geistliche betrüben: wie ich mich über diese erfreue, so kann ich mich über jene erfreuen. Der Ton, der mich in einer Opera vergnügt, der kann solches auch in der Kirche thun; nur, daß er ein anders Objectum hat.

Wir sind hierinn mit dem werthen **Scheibel** in so weit völlig enig, wenn Ernst und Schertz, wie sich das versteht, nur unterschieden werden; wiewol das erdichtete allemahl auf was ernsthaftes zielt, wie die heil. Schrift uns dessen völlig und überflüssig, in ihren schönen Gedichten, vergewissert. Man sehe **Lutheri** Vorreden an auf die Stücke in **Daniel** und **Esther**, und unsers HErrn Christi eigene Gleichnisse. Nur mögte niemand gerne gutheissen, daß eine Melodie, *quae est harmonia simplex*, die bereits von tausent Leuten in Opern gehört worden, mittelst einer Parodie, auf geistliche Worte gesungen würde: weil es manchem, dem die Aria bekannt, anstößig und ärgerlich vorkommen dürfte, und, bey so gestaltten Sachen, die Gegenstände leicht vermischt werden könnten. Wir brauchen ja, bey heitigem Reichthum an Erfindungen, solcher geborgten Dinge gar im geringsten nicht; ob gleich sonst manchem Zuhörer, der von der Parodie und dem Opern-Gegenstande nichts wüste, schon damit gedienet wäre.

Will man nun so vernünftig, als aufrichtig, hierinn verfahren, und das **theatralische Wesen** der gantzen Welt, τὸ θεατρικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, betrachten, so wird leicht erhellen, daß das *praedicatum*, **theatralisch**, an und vor sich selbst, von Natur ein gar ehrwürdiges *praedicatum* sey, seyn könne, und seyn müsse. Da dürffte es aber, wenn man in solchem Verstande auch die Kirche, ich meyne das Gebäude dieses oder jenes Tempels, ein **Theatrum** hiesse, manchem in Vor-Urtheil steckenden ungelehrten eben so seltsam scheinen, (da es doch lange nicht *par ratio* ist) als wenn wir einen guten Herrscher mit dem Nahmen eines **Tyrannen**, und einen frommen, ehrlichen Fremdling mit dem Titel eines **Barbarn** belegen sollten. Gleichwol hat auch dieses, ob schon nicht so viel als jenes, seine Richtigkeit: massen nur der tyrannische Gebrauch (*Usus ille tyrannus*) die Bedeutung verdorben und verändert hat.

Tyrannus heisst eigentlich und ursprünglich nichts anders, als *Rex, Princeps, Dominus*, er sey gut, oder böse. Und wenn man es gleich von τείρω, *vexo, subjugo, domo*, herleiten wollte, so kann doch der *Dominatus*, die Beherrschung, an und vor sich selbst, nichts übeles seyn. Die *subjugatio & vexatio*, wo man die Leute unterwürffig macht und tribuliret, mögen sehr wol von boshafften Feinden und Eidbrüchigen Rubellen verstanden werden, die, wegen ihres Frevels und ihrer Aufweigelung, nichts bessers verdienen. Gewiß ist es, daß das Wort τύραννος Anfangs keine verhaßte Bedeutung gehabt, sondern insgemein einen Herrscher oder ein Oberhaupt angezeigt hat. Die Republicaner muß man aber hier nicht zu Wort-Forschern machen: denn die nannten gerne alle Monarchen, ja alle Obrigkeitliche Personen, *pessimo sensu*, **Tyrannen**. In solchem schlimmsten Verstande erkläret es auch *Aristoteles* selber in seinen *Ethicis*, wenn er schreibt: *Tyrannus est, qui suis propriis commodis studet & publicis adversatur. Tyrannus est qui dominatu crudeliter abutitur*. Er wuste wol, daß die Bedeutung ehmahls anders gewesen war, sonst hätte er nicht nöthig gehabt, die Griechen griechisch zu lehren. Es gemahnet mich eben so mit dieser Auslegung, als wenn einige Heiligen-Fresser gerne alle rechtschaffene Musicos für liederliche Bierfiedler achten, und die grüne Gesellen durch eine **guthertzige Frau** eine gemeine Vettel verstehen. *Les petits Maitres, en parlant d'une femme d'un bon naturel, veulent qu'on entende une femme publique*. St Thomas war ein Weltbekannter Heiliger; doch wird die nach ihm getaupte Schule in Leipzig nur schlecht weg die **Thoms**-Schule genennt. Wenn man aber einen berühmten *Privatum*, ohne von seiner Heiligkeit etwas gehöret zu haben, **Thoms** heißet, so wollen einige darunter eine Beschimpffung suchen. Ist das nicht lächerlich, und ein *praejudicium praeceptoristicum*?

Was den Barbarn anlangt, so lese man nur darüber die *Acta Philosophorum*. Es heist ja βάρβαρο nichts anders, als *extraneus*, ein Fremdling, und zwar nur ein solcher Fremdling, der eben zu seinem Unglück kein Grieche ist: sintemahl den Griechen dieses Wort eigentlich auch zuhöret, so wie unzählige andere, die bey uns in verdorbenem Verstande eingeführet sind. *Haeresis* insonderheit, *electio*, eine Wahl, bedeutet heute zu Tage klare Kätzerey. *Enthusiasmus*, so vom Platone, nach der eigentlichen Deutung, in *meliozem partem* genommen worden, und eine Göttliche Eingebung heisset, wird itziger Zeit von einer närrischen Gemüths-Kranckheit gebraucht. Ja, auf die Philosophus zu kommen, was hat man nicht aus ihnen für wunderliche und verächtliche Leute machen wollen? eben darum, weil die ächte Bedeutung des Wortes beflecket und verderbet worden. Man verteutschet einen Philosophum noch biß auf diese Stunde durch einen Welt-Weisen; da der Nahme doch einen Liebhaber aller Weißheit überhaupt, und nicht der blossen Welt-Weißheit allein, bedeutet. Des Herrn D **Heumanns** obberührte *Acta* können davon ein gutes Zeugniß abstaten.

Diejenigen, welchen die Römischen Alterthümer nicht neu sind, wissen sich wol zu entsinnen, daß es ehmahls in Rom vornehme Leute gegeben, die mit ihren grossen Wolthaten und Beschützungen eine gute Anzahl geringerer Bürger beehret und beglückt haben. Sie vertheidigten nemlich dieser Personen Sachen vor dem Rath, und stunden ihnen bey in allerhand Gelegenheiten, mit ihren Anschlägen, mit ihrem Ansehen, mit ihrer Beredsamkeit, ja, oft selbst mit ihrem Reichthum. Welche nun solcher großmüthigen Freundschafts-Früchte genossen, die wurden **Clienten** genannt; und den ansehnlichen Nahmen der **Patronen** legte man ihren freigebigen Wolthätern bey. Dieser Gebrauch, den Bedrängten auf solche edle Art Hülffe zu leisten, ist zwar lange abgekommen, nachdem die Advocatur in andre Hände gerathen: inzwischen wollen sich doch unsre Rechts-Gelehrte die Benennungen von **Patronen** und **Clienten** keines weges abbringen lassen: massen nicht nur Graduirte, welche practisiren und Prozesse führen, Suppliken machen und Rath ertheilen, sich solcher Nahmen ohne Unterschied bedienen; sondern auch so gar der elendeste Notarius, welcher mehr einem Lincks- als Rechts-Gelehrten ähnlich siehet, ja der geringste Gerichts-Handlanger hält alle diejenigen richtig für seine **Clienten**, die ihm das liebe Brod geben. So misbraucht man täglich gute, und, ihrem Ursprunge nach, vortreffliche Worte, aus blossen Unverstande, und schreibet ihnen viele niederträchtige Dinge zu, mit welchen sie eigentlich gar keine Gemeinschaft haben sollten. Ein in aller Wollust schwimmender Cardinal, ein Bischof an der Spitze seines Kriges-Heers, ein geistlicher Fürst, der in der Fastnacht verummumet auf den Gassen hin und her läuft &c. Alle diese entsehen sich nicht, **Nachfolger der Apostel** zu heissen.

Ob nun zwar wol niemand in Abrede ist, daß Worte, wie Geld, ihren Werth und Unwerth durch den Cours oder Gebrauch erlangen; und ob wol keiner sol toll-kühn oder einfältig seyn wird, einen guten König mit dem Tyrannen-Titel zu belegen, unter dem nichtigen Vorwand einer genauen Wort-Forschung; noch einem braven Advocaten den Sold zu versagen, mit dem Vorgeben, daß Patronen und Clienten in alten Zeite aus gantz andern Augen gesehen haben: so ist doch dieses Bedencken bey steinernen und hölzernen Gebäuden nur was überflüssiges, und hingegen so erlaubt, als nötig, daß man, mit guter Manier, anzeige, was der innerliche Gehalt eines Dinges sey, und wie es in diesem Stücke, nemlich im Misbrauch der Worte, dem lieben Theatro, fast vor allen andern Sachen, am schlimmsten ergangen sey. Denn, wenn man ein Ding, wegen seines Mißbrauchs verwerffen sollte, so mögte Gesetz und Evangelium selbst gute Nacht haben, wie **Thoms Brown**, ein berühmter Engländischer Poet, schreibet. (Abermahl ein **Thoms**; doch mit Vornahmen. Die Engländer sagen noch kürztzer: *Tom*. Und denn meynen sie es recht gut.)

Man hält das Wort **Theatrum**, wie bekannt, für ein Schimpf- und Schmäh-Wort, indem dasselbige von unerfahrenen, samt den *derivatis* und der Zubehör, solchen Sachen, aus Verachtung, beigelegt wird, die man gerne gar vertilgen und abschaffen wollte; da es doch, von je her, ein sehr ehrwürdiges Wort und Ding gewesen ist, auch gar was ernsthaftes, heiliges, abgesondertes und erhebliches bedeutet: einfolglich von Rechtswegen nicht durch liederliche, schandbare Vorstellungen verunehret, sondern vielmehr in seinen vorigen ursprünglichen Werth wiederum gesetzt, und in gehörigen Ehren gehalten werden sollte. Es werden demnach gegenwärtige Betrachtungen zu erkennen geben, daß alles Wesen in der Welt recht **theatralisch**, und diese Eigenschaft nichts weniger denn anzüglich, ja, im Grunde gantz natürlich und hoch-achtbar sey.

Kinder und unverständige Menschen nennen auch wol das ein Theatrum, wenn etwa ein Marckschreier auf seinen Block tritt, und etliche elende Gassen-Lieder daher **jölet**. (*Sit venia verbo: Jölen* ist ein Nieder-Sächsisches Wort, das vielleicht vom *Modo aeolio* herkömmt.) Aber kluge Leute werden ihnen keinen Beifall geben; sie werden lieber das allervornehmste, höchste und schönste in der gantzen Welt, ja, die gantze erschaffene Welt selber, mit keinem ehrwürdigern Nahmen, in gesundem Verstande, zu belegen wissen, als eben mit dem **theatralischen**. Der ehmalige, berühmte General-Superintendens und Consistorial-Rath in Fürstenthum Grubenhaben, Herr **Caspar Calvör**, fängt seine Vorrede, zu der *Temperatura Practica* **Christoph. Alb. Sinns**,⁴ also an: “Gleichwie dieses grosse, gewaltige Welt-Gebäude einem herrlichen **Theatro und Schau-Platz**, darauf die höchst-anbetens-würdige, allerheiligste, ewig Weisheit, Allmacht und Güte des Schöpfers, auf die allerklügste, doch verborgenste, geheime Weise spielt, gar gleich und ähnlich ist: also eräuet sich auch solches zuvörderst in den *Proportionibus musicis*, als welche, wiewol gantz geheim und verborgen, durch die gantze Welt gegossen sind, wannenhero auch einer von den alten Weisen die Welt nennet: *Organum, sive Psalterium Dei*, ein Psalter-Spiel GOTTES.” Wäre nun ein **Theatrum**, ein **Schau-Platz**, was verächtliches, warum sollten grosse rechtlehrende Theologi das erschaffene Wesen, das Göttliche Werck damit vergleichen, und sagen, daß GOTT selbst darauf spiele oder agire?

Gottsched on the Cantata

[p. 728] 13. §. Die Kirchenstücke welche man insgemein **Oratorien**, das ist Bethstücke nennet, pflegen auch den Cantaten darinn ähnlich zu seyn, daß sie Arien und Recitative enthalten.⁵ Sie führen auch insgemein verschiedene Personen redend ein, damit die Abwechslung verschiedenen Singstimmen statt haben möge. Hier muß nun der Dichter, entweder biblische Personen, aus den Evangelien, oder andern Texten, ja Jesum, und Gott selbst; oder doch allegorische Personen, die sich auf die Religion gründen; als Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung, die christliche Kirche, geistliche Braut, Sulamith, die Tochter Zion, oder die gläubige Seele, u. d. m. redend einführen: damit alles der Absicht und dem Orte gemäß herauskomme. Doch ist noch einerley dabey zu beobachten. Die Poeten haben sich dabey auch der biblischen Sprüche zuweilen, anstatt der Recitative, bedienet und die Componisten pflegen sie auch wohl zuweilen Arioso zu setzen; wenn sie etwas rührendes in sich halten. Endlich ist es bey uns Evangelischen sehr erbaulich und beweglich, zuweilen einen oder etliche Verse aus unsern geistlichen Liedern, einzuschalten, die von der ganzen Gemeine mitgesungen, oder doch von allerley Instrumenten choralisch begleitet werden. Dadurch nun werden solche **Oratorien** viel erbaulicher, als bey den katholischen: wo ohnedieß alles entweder lateinisch, oder wälsch abgefasst ist, das der gemeine Mann nicht versteht. Wir haben viele gedruckte [p. 729] Sammlungen geistlicher Kirchenstücke von **Neumeistern**, u. a. m. Auch an Passionsstücken, die hieher gehören, fehlet es nicht: worunter aber **Brocksens** und **Pietschens**

⁴ Though this volume bears no publication date, the forty-seven-page preface is dated 1717. See Martin Ruhnke, “Calvoer [Calvör], Caspar”, in *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 15, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04623>.

⁵ Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751), 728–29.

Ausarbeitungen viel zu schwülstig in der Schreibart sind, als daß sie sich recht zum Singen schicken sollten.

14. §. Als Exempel von Cantaten, hätte ich gern aus unsern alten Dichtern, welche hergesehen. Allein, in dem vorigen Jahrhunderte, hat man von dieser Art beynahe nichts gewußt; weil Dichter und Sängers sich an Oden begnügt haben. In dem itzigen Jahrhunderte, hat man zwar Cantaten genug gemacht, und gedrucket; aber fast immer auf besondere Personen und Gelegenheiten, die unsern Componisten zu nichts gedienet haben. Wie es nun bey diesem Mangel an deutschen, moralischen und verliebten Cantaten zu wünschen ist: daß Dichter, die eine natürliche, fliegende und bewegliche Schreibart in ihrer Gewalt haben, sich der Musik zu gut, auf diese Art der Gedichte mehr als bisher legen mögen: also sehe ich mich genöthiget, meine Leser zu der menantischen galanten Poesie zu verweisen, darinn verschiedene gute Stücke von dieser Art vorkommen; die es auch wohl werth wären, daß sie von guten Componisten gesetzt, und von guten Stimmen, in Concerten und andern Gesellschaften abgesungen würden. Dieses würde uns wenigstens von dem unverständigen Geheule, italienischer Texte befreien: die von den meisten deutschen Sängern, eben weil sie kein Wälsch können, so zermartert werden, daß auch diejenigen Zuhörer, die Italienisch können, keine Sylbe davon verstehen. Es würde auch bey deutschen Texten eine affectuösere Art zu singen bey uns aufkommen, wenn der Sänger selbst wüßte, was er singet. Denn wie will er den Worten mit der gehörigen Art ihr Recht thun, wenn er wie ein Papagey, oder wie eine Schwalbe, lauter unverstandene Sylben hergurgelt, oder abzwitschert?

Preface to Neumeister's *Geistliche Cantaten*

Geistliche Cantaten über alle Sonn- Fest- und Apostel-Tage ... ausgefertigt von M. Erdmann Neumeistern (Halle in Magdeburg, 1705)

Vorbericht.

Gegenwärtige Poetische Arbeit führet den Titul Geistlicher *Cantaten*. Dieser *Terminus* möchte viel leicht vielen neu und unbekant seyn, und ist daher nöthig, ihn in etwas zuerläutern. *Cantata*, ist ein Italiänisch Wort, welches die *Virtuosen* dieser *Nation* ersonnen, und es gewissen Musicalischen Versen beygelegt haben. Wie nun unsre Teutsche Sprache eben so geschickt ist, ihre Poesie in dergleichen Forme zugiessen, hat die frembde Benennung, so wohl als bey einem Madrigal, Sonnet, Rondeau &c. behalten. *Cantata* aber soll der Bedeutung nach so viel seyn, als ein Gesang. Und weil diese Art sich zu der Music vor andern am schönsten bequemet, muß sie daher eine *Cantata*, oder ein *Hymnus*, κατ' ὄρχην heißen, ein Gesang über alle Gesänge, gleich als ober seines gleichen weder in der Music noch in der Poesie habe, gestalt es auch die Probe in beyderley Kunst ausweist. Ich darf nur den Weissenfelschen *Chenania* (1. Par. XVI. 22.)⁶ Herr Krieger nennen, welcher unter den *Virtuosen* in Kirchenstücken wohl den Preiß davon trägt. Denn selbiger die *Cantaten* allen vorgezogen, wenn Er bald etwas Moralisches, bald etwas Geistliches von meiner Feder seiner unvergleichlichen *Composition* gewürdiget hat. Soll ichs kürztlich aussprechen, so siehet eine *Cantata* nicht anders aus, als ein Stück aus einer *Opera*, von *Stylo Recitativo* und *Arien* zusammen gesetzt. Wer nun weiß, was zu beyden erfordert wird,

⁶ Sic; actually chapter 15, i.e., 1 Chronicles 15:22.

dem wird solch *Genus Carminum* zur ausarbeitung nicht schwer fallen. Jedoch auch, den Anfängern in der Poesie zu dienste, von beyden etwas zuberühren, so nimmet man zum *Recitativ* Jambische Verse. Je kürtzter aber, je angenehmer, und je bequemer sie zu *componiren* sind. Wiewohl auch in einem *affectuosen Periodo* dann und wann ein oder ein paar Trochäische, wie nicht weniger Dactilische sich gar artig und nachdrücklich mit einschieben lassen.

Sonst hat man hier *Licentz* eben als in einem Madrigal, die Reime und Verse zuverwechseln und zuvermischen, wie man will. Ich will sprechen: Man kan itzt einen kurtzen, itzt einen langen, bald einen Männ- bald einen Weiblichen setzen. Und ob es wohl gar annehmlich, wenn die *correspondirenden* Reime unmittelbar, oder doch in dem dritten Versen auf einander folgen, so ist es doch eben kein muß, sonder es kan das andere Reimwort wohlin der vierdten, fünfften Zeile, mit einem Worte, wo sichs am besten schicken will, stehen, auch mag bißweilen, wie in Madrigalen, ein Vers ohne Reim mit unterlauffen. Nur ziehe man überall das Gehöre zurathe, damit aller Zwang und Härtigkeit vermieden, und dargegen die von sich selbst fließende Lieblichkeit durchgehends beobachtet werde.

Was die *Arien* belanget, sollen selbige aus einer, zum meistens aus zweyen, sehr selten aus dreyen, Strophen bestehen, und allemahl einen *affect*, oder ein *morale*, oder sonst etwas besonders in sich halten. Und hierzu mag man nach eignen Gefallen ein bequemes *genus* erkiesen. Kan bey einer *Aria* das so genannte *Capo*, oder der Anfang derselben, am Ende in einem vollkommenen *Sensu* wiederhohlet werden, läßt es in der *Music* gar nette.

Wie nun aus diesen beyden Stücken, *Recitativ* und *Arien*, eine *Cantata* bestehet, so hat sie darbey diese Freyheit, daß sie nicht in gewisse Zeilen, wie ein Sonnet, eingeschräncket, sondern dem Poeten die Hand ungebunden gelassen ist, solche nach Gutbefinden lang oder kurtz zu machen. Welches letztere jedoch sich am meisten *recommendiret*. Gleich so wenig ist eine gewisse Zahl der *Arien* gesetzt, sondern man mag deren zwey, drey und mehr einschieben, ja bey kurtzen *Cantaten* auch wohl nur eine nehmen. Ingleichen ist unverwehret, bißweilen zwey *Arien* von zweyerley *generibus* stracks auf einander zu setzen, ohne daß *recitativ* zwischen ?nne stehet: wie genetheils bey einer *Aria* von zwey Strophen, diese beyden eben nicht *immediate* auf einander folgen dürffen, sondern *Recitativ* gar manierlich zwischen eingeschoben werden kan. Überdiß stehets in des Poeten Willkühr, ob er die *Cantata* mit einer *Aria*, oder stracks mit *Recitativ* anfangen will, oder nicht, welches auch bey dem Schlusse seinem Guthbefinden überlassen wird. Doch machet die *Aria* meistens und am bequemsten das *Final*.

Aus diesem wenigen erhellet, daß eine *Cantata* eine der nett- und geschicktesten Arth Musicalischer Gedichte ist, so wohl vor den Poeten, als vor den *Componisten*. Denn in einer Ode muß der Poet seine Einfälle zwingen und binden, und so zu sprechen, über einerley Leisten spannen lassen. Zum wenigsten *obligiret* ihn die erste Strophe, daß er die übrigen iust nach dieser verfertigen muß. In einer *Cantata* dargegen ist er an nichts gebunden, sondern setzet die Verse nach einanderhin, wie sie fließen und fallen wollen. Und der *Musicus* kan in einer Ode ebenfalls nicht mehr, als die erste Strophe, *componiren*, nach welcher sich die übrigen alle richten müssen. Allein, wie übel es läst, wenn unterschiedene *Affecten* einerley *Melodie* haben, und wie heßlich es klinget, wenn die Musicalischen *Variationes* in den Pausen, Trillern, Läussern u. s. f. auf wiedrige und unbequeme Worte fallen, kan iedweder leicht urtheilen, der nun halben Verstand von der *Music* hat. Im Gegentheile sind dergleichen *inconvenientien* und harte

passagen in einer *Cantata* gar nicht zubefahren, sondern die Kunstgriffe nach der guten Phantasie überall ohne Zwang anzubringen.

Wie sich aber solche nette Vers-Arth in unsrer Teutschen, eben so schön⁷ läst sie sich in der Lateinischen Sprache *practiciren*, davon, (doch ohne *præjudiz* der gewöhnlichen alten *generum*, der Verse nach der *quantität* der Sylben eingerichtet werden) am Ende eine Probe wird zu finden seyn.

Endlich den gegenwärtigen Werckgen näher zu treten, so ist, wie der Titul ausweist, der Inhalt geistlich, und auf alle Sonn- Fest- und Apostel-Tage eine *Cantata* abgefasst. Ich habe von Jugend auf durch eignen Trieb mein sonderbahr Vergnügen in der Teutschen Poesie gesucht, auch darinnen in meinen Studenten Jahren, so weit es die Neben-Stunden zulassen, und meine schwachen Sinnen reichen konten, mich jederzeit geübet. Zwar da es GOtt gefiel, mich den unwürdigsten seiner Knechte zum Predig-Ampte zu beruffen, schien es, daß ich diesem *Studio* gute Nacht geben solte; allein dessen Lieblichkeit hatte mich so eingenommen, daß ich sie noch nicht vergessen noch lassen konte, jedch aber sie nicht so wol auf politische als auf geistliche Gedancken zu verwenden bedacht war. Wenn nun die ordentliche Ampts-Arbeit des Sonntags verrichtet, versuchte ich das vornehmste dessen, was in der Predigt abgehandelt worden, zu meiner Privat-Andacht in eine gebundene Rede zusetzen, und mit solcher angenehmen Sinnen-bemühung den durch Predigen ermüdeten Leib wieder zuerquickten. Woraus denn bald *Oden*, bald Poetische *Oratorien*, und mit ihnen auch gegenwärtige *Cantaten*, gerathen seynd. Und weil mir aus *Psal.XC.13.* nicht unbewust seyn solte, worinnen der Christen Geistliche Klugheit vornehmlich mit beruhet, musten sich meine *Mediationes* allemahl mit Todes- oder Himmels-Gedancken schliessen. Bey den *Stylo* habe am liebsten Biblische und Theologische Redens-Arthen behalten wollen. Denn mich dünckt, daß bey Geistlichen Gedichten ein prächtiger Wörterschmuck von menschlicher Kunst und Weisheit den Geist und die Anmuth so sehr verhindert, als er vielleicht beydes in Politischen Versen befördern möchte.

Anbey aber bescheide mich von mir selbst, daß diese Blätter des Drucks, wegen ihrer Poetischen Kunst, nicht würdig gewesen. Sie wären auch wohl unter meinen andern Versen mit begraben worden, wenn nicht etliche *Virtuosen* und Music liebende, welche etwas davon gesehen, mir angelegen, selbige unter die Presse zugeben, und nun, ihnen zu dienen, habe ich mich darzu bereden lassen. Daher sie sich am allerwenigsten als ein Poetisches Meister-Stücke, sondern allein bloß, als ein Gottgeheilte Kirchen-Music, wollen ansehen lassen. Doch hatte ich oben gesagt: Eine *Cantata* sahe aus, wie ein Stück einer *Opera*, so dürffte fast muthmassen, daß sich mancher ärgern möchte, und dencken: Wie eine Kirchen-Music und *Opera* zusammen stimmten? Vielleicht, wie Christus und Belial? Etwan, wie Licht und Finsternis? Und demnach hätte man lieber, werden sie sprechen, eine andere Arth erwehlen sollen. Wiewohl darüber will ich mich rechtfertigen lassen, wenn man mir erst beantwortet hat: Warumb man nicht andere Geistliche Lieder abschafftet, welche mit Weltlichen und manchmal schändlichen Liedern eben einerley *genus versuum* haben? Warumb man nicht die *Instrumenta Musica* zerschlägt, welche heute sich in der Kirche hören lassen, und doch wohl gestern bey einer üppigen Weltlust aufwarten müssen? Sodann: Ob diese Arth Gedichte, wenn sie gleich ihr Modell von Theatralischen Versen erborget, nicht dadurch geheiligt, indem, daß sie zur Ehre GOTTes gewiedmet wird?

⁷ Orig: schön

Und ob nicht dißfals die Apostolischen Sprüche *I. Cor. VII. 14. I. Tim. IV. 5. Phil. I. 18. in applicatione justa* mir zu einer gnugsamen Verantwortung dienen können?

Ubrigens, da ich mir wohl ehedessen die Freyheit nehmen dürffen, anderer ihre Poetischen Schriff-ten zu *censiren*, als wird solch Recht auch über meine Feder keinem unverwehrt seyn. Nur bitte ich mir dieses aus, er wolle nach der guten *Intention*, so ich hierunter geführt, und nach dem wahren *Principiis* der Teutschen *Poesie* urtheilen.

Soll ich noch eins anfügen, so entschuldige man die eingeschlichenen Druckfehler gütigst, damit weder im Verstande des Textes, noch in dem *Metro*, noch in der *Composition*, eine Unordnung entstehe. Die übrigen in der *Orrhographie*, [*sic*] da z. E. den vor dem, diesem for diesen &c. gesetzt, die *Distictiones* nicht recht *lociret* sind, u. s. f. werden iedwedem selbst in die Augen fallen.

GOTT der HErr sey Sonne und Schild!

Preface to Neumeister's *Fünffache Kirchen-Andachten*

From: Gottfried Tilgner, ed., *Herrn Erdmann Neumeisters Fünffache [*sic*] Kirchen-Andachten: bestehend in theils einzeln, theils niemahls gedruckten Arien, Cantaten und Oden auf alle Sonn- und Fest-Tage des gantzen Jahres* (Leipzig: Große, 1716), unpaginated preface.

Man übergiebt dir hier die Gedichte eines Poeten, dessen Feder in der heiligen Poesie etwas höchstangenehmes hat, und die geistlichen Früchte eines *Theologi*, dem an durchdringender Krafft und Eiffer in seinem geheiligten Amte wenig andere vorzuziehen seyn: Der Zweck seiner Arbeit ist GOTTes Ehre, und die Unterhaltung deiner öffentlichen Andacht.

Alle diese Umstände lassen mich an deiner gütigen Aufnahme um so viel weniger zweifeln, ie gewisser ich hoffe, daß du nicht unter den Haussen derjenigen gehörst werdest, welche, ich weiß nicht, aus was vor einem Überwitz geschworne Feiden der geistlichen Poesie heissen, und noch vielmehr alle musicalische Andachten aus dem Hause GOTTes verbannet wissen wollen.

Zeit und Papier sind zu edel, sie mit Wiederlegung dieser Unbesonnenen zu verderben, welche so viel erläuchte Exempel des Alten und Neuen Testamentes, und so viele geistreiche Schrifften der größten Kirchen-Lehrer gnugsam eintreiben könnten; wenn sie in ihrer eingebildeten Klugheit nicht allzuverstockt wären, oder sich selbst eines bessern wolten belehren lassen. Wiewohl auch nicht zu befürchten ist, daß viele rechtschaffene und vernünssstige Christen durch diese ungereimte Meynung solten können bethöret werden.

Dasjenige hingegen möchte vielleicht bey vielen grössern Beyfall finden, was einige wider die heut zu Tage eingefuhrten Arten der Kirchen-Musick, und der darinnen gebräuchlichen *Recitative*, *Concerten* und dergleichen einwenden. Denn weil diese viel klügern Gegner ernstlich darwider *protestiren*, daß sie nicht gesonnen wären die Kirchen-Musick überhaupt, sondern den eingerissenen Mißbrauch derselben anzufechten: so hat es freylich einen ziemlichen Schein des Rechten, wenn sie eiffern, **daß man den Tempel des HERRN nicht zu einem Opern-Hause, noch sein Heiligthum zu einem Schau-Platze Ohren-kützelnder Uppigkeiten machen solle.**

Ich gestehe nochmals, daß dieses dem ersten Ansehen nach nicht nur sehr vernünfftig, sondern auch höchst nötig und gantz unwidersprechlich scheine. In Wahrheit, wer das schmerzliche Leiden unsers

Heylandes nach der Melodie einer *folie d’Espagne* besingen, oder desselben fröliche Auferstehung und Himmelfarth mit *Couranten*- und *Giquen*-Tackte bejauchzen wolte, würde billig wo nicht vor einen gottlosen Spötter, doch gewiß vor einen sehr einfältigen Verehrer der göttlichen Geheimnisse anzusehen seyn: und ich verlange nichts weniger als dergleichen Thorheiten zu vertheidigen, von denen ich mir ohne diß nicht einbilden kan, daß sie so gar gemeine seyn solten.

Es bleibet also bloß übrig, aufs kürztzeste zu beweisen, **daß der rechtmäßige Gebrauch der heut üblichen und größten Theils in Oden, Arien, Recitativen und Chorälgen bestehenden Kirchen-Musick billig und ohne einigen Gewissens-Scrupel erlaubt sey.** Welches durch zulängliche Beantwortung der gewöhnlichsten mir bekannten Einwürffe am füglichsten wird geschehen können.

Diejenigen, welche so gar heftig wieder die Recitative eifern, und selbige durchaus auf die Comödianten-Plätze verweisen wollen, mögen unbeschwert sagen, warum sie sich denn nicht auch ärgern, wenn das Vater-Unser, die Worte der Einsetzung, die Collecten, Evangelien, und andere geistliche Texte auf eben diese Art von der Geistlichkeit hergesungen werden. Welchen aber die öftere Wiederholung etlicher Worte in den Arien unerträglich ist, denen geben wir gerne zu, daß, zu viel, die Zuhörer verdrießlich mache; aber zu wenig rühret sie gar nicht. Ein *emphatisches* Wort, ein nachdrücklicher Affect kan dem Gemüthe nicht kräftiger, als durch eine durchdringende Wiederholung eingepreget werden. Die heilige Schrifft selbst, (die wir in dergleichen Streitigkeiten ungezweifelt vor den höchsten Richter erkenne müssen) giebet dessen im 148. und 150. vornehmlich aber im 136. Psalmen gnugsame Exempel: Verschiedener Stellen des hohen Liedes Salomonis nicht zu gedencken.

Andere verwerffen das in geistreichen Arien so liebliche, ja ich möchte fast sagen, so nöthige und so andächtige *da Capo*: ohne sich abermahl des Königl. Propheten Davids zu erinnern, welcher seine herrliche Prophezeynung von dem Reiche Christi im achten Psalm mit den Worten: **HERR unser Herrscher, wie herrlich ist dein Nahme in allen Landen!** angefangen, und eben auch also beschlossen hat.

Die sich aber insonderheit über die Musick beschweren, und lieber ieden Thon, der nun etwas muntre klinget, als ihre heuchlerische Ohren vertragen können, zu einer Todt-Sünde machen wolten; die belieben sich zuerinnern, daß die alten Weynacht- und Oster-Lieder: **Ein Kind geboren zu Bethlehem etc. etc. Heut triumphiret Gottes Sohn etc. etc.** und viel andere, auch nicht gar zu traurig gehen, und dennoch von iedermann ohne besorgliche Aergerniß mitgesungen werden. Ja sie mögen selbst urtheilen, ob das Danck-Lied, welches die Prophetin Mirjam, nach dem Untergange des stolzen Pharaos, mit den Israelitischen Weibern in die Paucken gesungen, wie ein *lamento* sey gesetzt gewesen; oder der Lob-Gesang des erfreuten Zachariä einem erbärmlichen Buß-Liede gleich geklungen habe?

Am allermeisten stossen sich viele **an die starcke Musick**, wenn man die **Instrumente *all’unisono*, oder zusammen auf einmahl spielen lässet**; als welches ihrem Vorgeben nach die geheiligte Ruhe des Sabbaths allzusehr verstöhre, und die stille Hütte Zebaoths voll ungebührlichen Lermens mache. Aber wie stille muß es doch damahls zugegangen seyn, wie der weise, und zu der Zeit noch sehr fromme Salomon, die Lade des HErrn in den neu erbauten Tempel brachte, und dabey **die Leviten &c. mit Cymbeln, Psaltern und Harffen sun-gen, worzu noch 120. Priester die Drommeten bließen: daß es war, als wäre es EJNER, der drommetete und sänge, und als hörete man EJNE Stimme zu loben und zu dancken den HErrn.** Noch eines: Singer nicht die Christliche Kirche die geistliche Lieder

insgesamt in *unisono* oder mit vereinigter Stimme? und dennoch haben die Ohren noch Niemanden davon wehe gethan.

Die scheinbarste Erinnerung möchte etwan noch diese seyn, **daß man nicht Melodien nehmen solle, die bereits bey weltlichen Vor-Fällen sind gebraucht**, und den Zuhörern bekandt gemacht worden: wie sonderlich zuweilen an denen Orten zu geschehen pflaget, wo die Kirchen- und Opern-Music von einerley Personen bestellet wird. Allein zu geschwigen, daß auch hierbey die Umstände manches entschuldigen werden, was *in thesi* noch so straftbar scheinen kan; so ist ja auch nicht unbekandt, daß mäfast auf die meisten geistlichen Melodien eben auch weltliche, ja wohl gar Sauff- und H-Lieder gerichtet hat; durch welche sich doch bey dem Gottes-Dienste niemand wird ärgern, oder in seiner Andacht stöhren lassen, als etwan diejenigen, bey denen ein solches Schand-Lied in eben so grosser Hochachtung stehet, und vielleicht auch eben so viel fruchtet, als der geistreichste Gesang, so iemahls von dem gottseligen Luther oder Gerhard verfertigt worden.

Solte man endlich unsere Tadier um einen Rath fragen, **was denn nun ein Poet oder Componiste bey seiner Arbeit zu beobachten habe?** so würde vielleicht die Antwort bald fertig seyn: **Er müsse seine Sachen schlecht weg und andächtig machen.** Und freylich ja, die Andacht muß allerdings die Haupt-Absicht bey der gantzen Arbeit seyn: Daß aber zu deren Erweckung das **Schlecht weg** so gar beförderlich und unentbehrlich sey, ist noch lange nicht ausgemacht. Sonst würden des alten Conrad Nachtigals u. anderer ehrlichen Meister-Sänger schlechte und gerechte Knittel-Reime gewiß die vortrefflichsten Lieder des fleißigen **Ristes**, erbaulichen Hermanns, anmuthigen Gerhards, lieblichen Neumanns &c. bey weitem übertreffen; auch wohl der elendeste Dorff-Organist selbst dem berühmten Herrn Telemann vorzuziehen seyn. Die Unverständigsten wären zum Dienste GOTTES die geschicktesten Werck zeuge: Diejenigen hingegen, denen die Gnade des Höchsten ein grösser Talent verliehen, müsten solches nicht ihm zur Ehre, sondern der Welt zur Wollust anwenden.

So ungereimt dieses wäre, eben so unbillig schätze ich, daß man GOTT die alten Schlacken der verlegenen Einfälle opfern, die auserlesensten Gedancken aber der besten Dichter bloß dem sündlichen Zeit-Vertreibe, und wenn es hoch kommt, der Ohren-Weyde eines grossen Herrn vorbehalten solle. Wie oft erinnert David man müsse dem HERRN ein NEUES Lied singen? Und was heisset denn dieses: Lobsinget ihm klüglich;⁸ und da alle Künste und Wissenschaften steigen, und mit der Zeit von denen noch übrigen Unvollkommenheiten befreyet werden; warum sollte denn dasjeniger so hauptsächlich zum Lob unsers GOTTES gewidmet ist, in seinem Moder liegen bleiben?

Aus diesem allen G. L. erhellet zur Gnüge, wie viel man dem **unvergleichlichen Herrn Neumeister** schuldig sey? als welchem ohne Widerspruch der Ruhm gebühret, **daß er der Erste unter uns Teutschen gewesen, der die Kirchen-Music durch Einführung der geistlichen Cantaten in bessern Stand gebracht, und in den ietzigen Flor versetzt hat.** Daher es auch um so viel weniger zu verwundern, wenn seine Arbeit nicht nur von unzehlichen Privat-Personen, sondern selbst von verschiedenen **Hohen Häuptern** mit besondern Gnaden ausdrücklich verlangt und aufgenommen, und von den berühmtesten Virtuosen **Hn. Kriegern, Herrn Telemann, Herrn Erlbach**, und Andern, gleichsam

⁸ Ps 47:7

um den Vorzug ist gestritten worden, welcher unter Ihnen Ruhm-gedachte Cantaten mit der besten und würdigsten *Composition* ausziehen könnte?

Was gegenwärtige Sammlung betrifft, so hat man die vier ersten Jahr-Gänge zwar bereits vor diesem einzeln, jedoch nicht zum öffentlichen Verkauf, (ohne was mit dem allerersten durch heimlichen Nachdruck geschehen) sondern nur zum Gebrauch der Zuhörer in den Fürst- und Gräflichen Schloß-Kirchen, wo sie *musiciret* worden, im Drucke gesehen. Denn der erste ist 1700. auf **Hoch-Fürstl. Gnäd. Befehl in die Capelle nach Weissenfels** kommen. Den andern hat die gottseelige, nun in GOTT ruhende Hoch-Gräfl. Herrschafft zu Rudelstadt; Den dritten und vierdten aber Se. Hoch-Fürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen-Eisenach, Die GOTT zum Seegen setze! jenen 1711, diesen 1714. gnädigst verfertigen lassen.

Dannhero ist die Anschaffung derselben einige Zeit her so schwer gewesen, daß sie weit und breit von vielen Kennern der reinen Poesie und Liebhabern einer rechtschaffenen Kirchen-Music, insonderheit von den geübtesten Componisten häufig sind abgeschrieben worden. Um nun ihne[n] desto bequemer zu dienen, u. fernem falschen Nachdruck zu verhüten, ist man schlußig worden, selbige mit Einwilligung des Hn. *Auctoris* zusammen drucken zu lassen, und noch einen neuen vorher nie unter die Presse gekommenen Jahr-Gang von Oden hinbey zufügen. So hat sich auch der Herr Verfasser die Mühe gegeben, nicht nur die sämtlichen Gedichte noch einmahl durchzugehen, zu verbessern, und die Druck-Fehler auszumustern; sondern auch theils übergangene Fest-Tage von neuen hinzu zu setzen.

Dieses und alles zusammen wird dir hier unverfälscht mit Vorbewust und Genehmhaltung

Des Hoherleuchten Manns, so selbige geschrieben,

Der in der Poesie ein Kirchen-David heißt,

Und den die Feinde selbst der Gaben wegen lieben,

zu deinen Nutzen und Erbauung übergeben; die Herren Componisten aber noch zum Beschluß er sucht, nicht ungedulzig zu werden, wenn zuweilen in einem Stücke **zwey oder drey Choräle von ganz unterschiedenen Thonen** zusammen kommen; **Herr Telemann**, hat es ehemahls so verlangt, als dessen beständige Meinung bleibet, **daß nichts, was einem Poeten möglich ist, bey dem Componisten unmöglich seyn müsse**. So ist auch bey dem andern **Jahr-Gange** zu mercken, daß selbige Cantaten auf Begehren in dieser Forme abgefasst worden; da man sich sonst gleicher Freyheit darinnen, wie in denen übrigen, würde bedient haben.

Gottfried Tilgner.

Graupner's Preface to the *Neu vermehrtes Darmstädtisches Choral-Buch* (Darmstadt, 1728)

Geehrter Leser. Geistreiche liebliche Lieder sind ohnstreitig eines der wichtigsten Stücke des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes, und mag also die Sorgfalt und Mühe nicht vergeblich geachtet werden, welche auf eine genaue Einrichtung, derer zu denenselben erforderlichen *Melodien* gewendet wird. Erbauliche Worte eines Gesangs, haben einen desto tiefern Eindruck in die Gemüther, wo mit wohl bedachten und ausgesuchten *Expressionen*, der Sinn und Nachdruck des Textes, durch die *Music* gleichsam lebendig vorgestellt wird; Und ist dieses bey jeder *Composition*, da ein gewisser Text und Worte vorgeschrieben

sind, das vornehmste. Denn so lange als in der *Distinction: Punctum, Comma, Semicomma, Colon, Interrogatio, exclamatio, parenthesis*, und sofort, nicht einerley sind, so lange folge, daß jedwedens von diesen auch in der *Music* seine eigene *Expressiones* habe müsse. Auch ist sonderlich in acht zu nehmen, jedem Wort seine gebührliche und erforderliche *Emphasin* zu geben, und wo sich der *Sensus* im *Paragrapho* endet, muß sich solcher gleicher gestalt in der *Harmonie* enden, welches in allen *Compositionen*, und sonderlich im *Stylo recitativo*, gar viel zu sagen hat, und läßt sich hieraus vor allen andern das *Judicium* eines *Componisten* am allermeisten prüfen, ob er dem Text, den er vor sich hat, gewachsen oder nicht. Auch ein *Orator* findet hierinne das seine, und wird ohne dieses genau zu *observiren*, bey verständigen eben so wenig ausrichten, als der *Musieus*. Bey einem Liede aber, da viele *Verse* unter einander stehen, hat dieses zwar einige Schwürigkeit, indem ein *Vers* sich immer anders *terminiret* als der andre; daraus von sich selbst folgt, daß, wo die *Poesie*, soferne solche der *Music* gewiedmet, hierinne unordentlich, auch der *Componist* vielmals widerwillens in solchen Fällen anstossen muß. Daß *Metrum* hat ingleichen seine Schwürigkeit den *intendirten* Zweck zu erreichen; denn da finden sich einige derer neuen Lieder, da das *Genus dactylicum* bey Buß-Liedern gar übel *appliciret* ist, welches sich zu frölichen *Materien* viel besser schicken würde. Nicht daß solches etwa nicht möglich sey, es erfordert aber doch schon einige Übung, den von sich selbst mit folgenden Sprung und *Scansion* zu vermeiden, und wenn die üble und altväterische *Methode* zum Singen noch überdiß darzu kommt, hat es ein um so viel schlechteres Aussehen, welcher Ubelstand, was diß betrifft, nicht so sehr zu gesorgen wär, wenn der gewöhnliche *Stylus* zum *Choral* beybehalten würde, der dergleichen Veränderungen nicht unterworfen, und allezeit in seinem *æstim* bleibet. Auch erstreckes sich in theils neuen Liedern der *Ambitus* bis in *Duodecimam*, welches mancher gute Sänger vielmahls nicht vermag, und kan solches eine gantze Gemeine, die mehrentheils aus rohen Stimmen bestehet, noch vielweniger, welches denn eine Ursach mit ist, daß viele *Melodien* so ungleich zerzerret werden. Die Alten sind nicht ohne Ursach in diesem Stück so behutsam gewesen. Wenn man dergleichen Lieder, als *e. g.* Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen seyn. Auf meinen lieben GOtt. Ach GOtt und HERre und viele dergleichen ansiehet, so kan solche fast jedweder Mensch ohne Schwürigkeit und Zwang mit singen, welches in obigen nicht möglich. Die Nachlässigkeit derer, die den öffentlichen Gesang zu belorgen haben, wie nicht weniger die überleye vermeynte Kunst einiger *Organisten* unter wehrenden *Choral*, ist auch an vielet Verwirrung der *Melodien* mit Schuld, und der hierinne aus denen rechten *Principius* Geschicklichkeit besitzt, läßt solche viel besser zum *Preludio* vor dem *Choral*, als in selben, hören, und ist wohl das allerbeste, wenn der *Choral* ganz *simpel* und schlecht gespielt wird, daß die Gemeine die *Melodie* fein deutlich hören kan. Doch ist dieses auch nicht so *simpel* und schlecht zu verstehen; Es hat die *Simplicität* in der *Music* gar ein grosses zu sagen, und wenn die *Inventiones* und allerhand *Manieren* noch so bund und krauß aussehen, und lassen sich nicht *ad primum fontem* nemlich, zur *Simplicität reduciren*, so ist es ein gewisses Merckmahl, daß das *Fundament* nicht zum besten gelegt worden. Damit nun künfftighin einmahl eingeführte *Melodien* in ihrer Ordnung verbleiben, und sonderlich eine durchgehende Gleichheit in dem Gesang in hießigen Hochfürstl. Landen möge erhalten werden, ist unter hoher *Approbation* gegenwärtiges *Choral*-Buch, mit nich geringer Müh und Unkosten ausgefertigt worden. Die Einrichtung ist nach dem bisher gewöhnlichen Darmstädtischen Gesang-Buch, doch so wohl an alten als neuen Liedern um vieles vermehret. Einigen Liedern, denen es an *Melodien* gefehlet, sind solche neu beygesetzt worden, und wo doppelte

jedoch gewohnte *Melodien* sind, stehn solche gleich darneben, ausser etlichen, deren man sich zu der Zeit nicht erinnert, welche man derentwegen zuletzt angebracht. Das Register ist mit Fleiß etwas weitläufftig eingerichtet, indem viele Gesänge aus dem Crügerischen, Paul Gerhards Liedern, so viel deren in einem *a parten* Gesang-Buch befindlich, dem Zülischen und noch mehr andern Gesang-Büchern, die ehedessen hießiger Landen gewöhnlich gewesen, darzu gethan worden. Und wo sich hie und da unbrauchbare oder auch unbekandte *Melodien* gefunden haben, sind solche unter bekandte gebracht worden, daß jeder, deme gemeldete Gesang-Bücher annoch in Händen, sich deren bedienen kan. Denen *Clavier* Liebhabern, sonderlich der Jugend, wird es zu einem kleinen *Exercitio* im *General-Baß* gar wohl dienen, um durch dieses zugleich die *Melodien* zum Singen unvermerckt zu gewöhnen. Der Vorsatz war erstlich eine kurtze Einleitung zum *General-Baß*, so viel hierzu nötig, mit anzuhengen, ist aber Weitläuffigkeit und Mangels derer hierzu dienlichen *Noten* unterblieben. Ist auch bey diesem *Choral*-Buch ausser etlichen wenigen Haupt-Regeln nicht viel zu *observiren*, und alles genugsam in des seel. Hn. Werckmeisters kleinen Tractätlein vom *General-Baß*, anzutreffen, und bestehet aus einigen wenigen Blättern. Wer aber weiter verlanget, erkundige sich nach Hrn. *Capell*-Meister Heinichens Tractat vom *General-Baß*, da er nicht allein zu diesen, sondern auch zu allen andern vollkommene Nachricht und *Satisfaction* antreffen wird. Ubrigens wie man sich des *intendirten* Nutzens von der angewandten Müh, wie auch einer guten Aufnahme gewiß versichert; also ist schließlich hertzlich zu wünschen, daß aller Gesang und Klang solcher Art sey, auch GOtt mit solchem wohlgefällig zu seyn. Darmstadt den 18. Mart. 1728.

Appendix B

Edited Cantatas

Es kann nicht anders sein, BWV 1133/11

Es kann nicht anders sein

Kantate zum Jubilate - GWV 1133/11

[1] Aria

Hautbois 1

Hautbois 2

Violini

Viola

Soprano

Continuo

4

8

Es kann nicht an-ders sein

12

Es kann nicht an ders sein Wer sich von Chri - sto - nen - net und ich zu ihm be - ken - net der muss auf die - ser

16

Er - de durchs Kreuz durchs Kreuz ge - prü - fet wer - den.

20

Mein Herz, mein Herz so gib dich drein. Mein Herz

24

tr
so gib dichdrein. Mein Herz so gib dich drein, so gib dichdrein. Es

28

kann nicht an-ders sein. Es

31

D.S.

kann nicht an-ders sein, nicht an ders, nicht an - ders sein. D.S.

[2] Recitativ

Soprano

Die Welt und wer es mit ihr hält, hat im-mer lau-ter Freu-de. Des Fleisch-es Lust ist ihr-es Her-tzens Wey-de. Diß halt sie vor ein Land da

Continuo

6b

7

Milch und Ho-nig fleust. Und weil sie da ihr höch-stes Gut ge-neust, so läst sie Gott und Him-mel ger-ne fah-ren. E-gyp-tensKnob-lauch ist ihr sü-ßer als das

12

Man, und Ba-bel gilt ihr mehr als Gor-tes Ca-na - an So kan sie sich mit ih-ren Schnö-den Gä-sten in Up-pig-keit und al-ler Wol-lust mä-sten. Hin-ge-gen ist von

18

ihr der From-men gantz ver-ges-sen. Die mü-ßen hier ihr Brodt mit Thrä nen mit Thrä

b

23

- nen es - sen. Und Sack und As - che sind ihr Kleid, wo - rin - nen sie die Kum - mer - vol - le Zeit bey so viel Är - ger -

6

27

nis - sen mit Seuf tzen, mit Seuf - zen füh - ren müs - sen.

[3] Aria

Flauto

Viola

Soprano

Continuo

11

Mein Herz, so gib dich nur dar

20

ein, so gib dich nur dar - ein. Mein Herz, so gib dich nur dar

29

ein, so gib dich nur dar - ein. Es wird nichts an - ders, es wird nichts an - ders, es wird nichts an - ders draus.

38

Wenn du willst Got - tes Die - ner sein, so hält be

47

stän - dig aus, so willt be - stän

55

dig aus, so willt be - stän - dig aus.

64

Ob gleich das Joch des Kreu-zes schmerz, so sa-ge du da-bei be-herzt: ge-duld, ge-duld!

74

Ob gleich das Joch des Kreu - zes

80

schmerzt, so sa - ge du da - bei be - herzt: ge - duld, ge - duld, ge - duld!

D.C. D.C.

[4] Recitativ

Soprano

Eh das ge-lob-te Land, sich läßt mit sei-nen Früch-ten prei-sen, so muß man erst durch rau-he Wüs-ten rei-sen. Drum halt nur sel-ten Stand. Es

Continuo

6

6

wird nicht lan-ge wäh-ren, so le-get sich der Sturm auf die-ser Jam-mer-See. Hier zeit - lich wohl, dort e - wig wohl! Hier zeit - lich wohl,

15

dort e - wig wohl! Was denkst du lie - ber zu - be - geh - ren? Weil dir die Wahl ge - las - sen wer - den soll. Die Welt - lust

6

21

dau - ret kur - tze Zeit, und brin - get e - wig Her - tze - leid. Je - doch der From - men ih - re

24

Noth er - streckt sich nur biß an den Todt. Und dann er - folgt auf zeit - lich La - men - ti - ren ein e - wig Ju - be - li - ren.

[5] Aria

Adagio Allegro

Hautbois 1

Hautbois 2

Violino 1

Violino 2

Viola

Soprano

Violoncello

Continuo

7

Ich

12 Adagio

dul de mich und ley-dte, ich dul

17 Allegro

de mich und ley-dre, und ley-dre. Des Him-mels Lust und Freu

21

de mich und ley-dre, und ley-dre. Des Him-mels Lust und Freu

25

pp

pp

pp

pp *f*

de folgt end - lich see - lig drauf, folgt end-lich see - lig

30

pp *f* *pp* *f*

pp *f* *pp* *f*

pp *f* *pp* *f*

pp *f* *pp* *f*

drauf. MeinHertz soll dann in - des - sen den

§

35 Adagio

Seuf - tzer nicht ver - ges - sen: Herr Je - su nimm mich auf, nimm mich auf, Herr Je - su nimm mich auf.

[Dal Segno]

Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut, GWV 1152/12b

Mein Herz schwimmt in Blut

Dominica 11 post Trinitatis, 1712 — GWV 1152/12b

[1] *Recitativo Accompagnato*

Violino 1

Violino 2

Viola

Soprano

Bassono Continuo

Mein Hertz schwimmt in Blut, weil mich der Sün - den Bruth von Gor-tes heil-gen Au-gen zum Un-ge heu er

6

macht, und mein Ge-wis-sen füh-let Pein, weil mir die Sün-dennichts, als Höl-len-Hen-cker seyn. Ver - haß-te Las-ter-Nacht du, du al -

11

lein hast mich in die - se Noth ge-bracht! Und du, du bö - ser A-dams - Saa-men, raubst mei-ner See-len al - le

15

Ruh, und schlu-Best ihr den Him-mel zu. Ach! Un-er-hör-ter Schmerz mein aus-ge-dorr-tes Hertz will

19

fer-ner mehr fein Trost be-feuch-ten; und ich muß mich vor dem ver-streck-en vor dem die En-gel selbst ihr An-ge-sicht ver-de-cken.

[2] Aria

Violino 1
Hautbois 1

Violino 2
Hautbois 2

Viola

Soprano

Bassono
Continuo

Stum-me Seuf-tzer stil-le Kla-gen ihr mögt mei-ne

6

Schmer - tzen sa - gen, weil der Mund, weil der Mund ge - schlos - sen ist: und ihr nas - sen

11

Thrä - nen - quel - len, könt ein sich - res Zeug - niß stel - len, wie mein sünd - lich Hertz ge - büßt.

Recitativo

16

Mein Hertz ist itzt ein Thrä - nen - Brunn, die Au - gen hei - se Quel - len,

19

ach Gott, ach Gott, wer wird dich doch zu frie - den, zu frie - den stel - len.

[3] Recitativo

Soprano

Bassono Continuo

5

Bassono Continuo

8

Bassono Continuo

[4] Aria

Violino 1 Hautbois 1

Violino 2 Hautbois 2

Viola

Soprano

Bassono Continuo

10

tr

+Hb1

f

+Hb2

[*f*]

f

lieb - ster Gott, lieb - ster Gott, lieg ich lieb-ster Gott vor dir.

18

-Hb1

pp

Tief ge - bückt, tief ge -

23

-Hb2

[*pp*]

bückt und vol - ler Reu - e, lieg ich lieb - ster Gott vor dir.

29

Ich be - ken - ne mei - ne Schuld, a - ber ha - be doch Ge -

35

dult, ha - be doch Ge - dult mit mir, ha - be doch Ge - dult mit mir.

Da Capo

[5] *Recitativo*

Soprano

Auf die - se Schmer - tzens - reu, fällt mir als - denn diß Trost - Wort bey.

Bassono
Continuo

[6] *Choral*

Violino 1
Hautbois 1

Violino 2
Hautbois 2

Viola

Soprano

Bassono
Continuo

6

Ich dein be - trüb - tes Kind, werf al - le

12

mei - ne Sünd, so viel ihr in mir ste -

18

cken, und mich so hef - tig schre - cken,

24

in dei - ne tie - fe Wun - den, da ich stets Heil ge -

30

fun - den.

[7] *Recitativo*

Soprano

Ich le - ge mich in die - se Wun - den, als in den rech - ten Fel - sen - Stein, die sol - len mei - ne Ruh - stadt

Bassono
Continuo

4

sein. In die - se will ich mich im Glau - ben schwin - gen und drauf ver gnügt und frö - lich sin - gen:

[8] Aria

Hautbois 1
 Hautbois 2
 Violino 1
 Violino 2
 Viola
 Soprano
 Bassono
 Continuo

6

Wie freu-dig ist meinHertz, Wie freu-dig ist mein

11

Hertz, da Gott ver-söh-net ist. Wie freu-dig ist mein Hertz, wie freu-dig ist mein Hertz, da Gott ver-söh-net ist.

16

Wie freu-dig ist mein Hertz, wie freu-dig ist mein Hertz, da Gott ver-söh-net ist.

21

Und mir auf Reu und Leyd, auf Reu und

26

Leyd nicht mehr die See-lig-keit noch auch sein Hertz, noch auch sein Hertz ver-schließt, noch auch sein Hertz verschließt.

Da Capo

Nun hab ich meinen Gott geseh'n, GWV 1169/14

Nun hab ich meinen Gott gesehen

Kantate zum Mariae Reinigung - GWV 1169/14

[1] Choral

Hautbois 1
 Hautbois 2
 Violino 1
 Violino 2
 Viola
 Canto
 Tenore
 Bass
 Continuo

Nun hab ich mei - nen Gott ge - sehn, drum will ich
 Nun hab ich mei - nen

6 5 4 # b # 5 6 #

ster - ben, drum will ich ster - ben, nun hab ich mei - nen Gott ge - sehn, drum will ich
 Gott ge - sehn, drum will ich ster - ben,

Nun hab ich mei - nen Gott ge - sehn, drum

6 6 7 8 6 3 5 b 5 9 8 7 6 6

11

This musical score is for the song 'Ach könt es doch nur bald geschehn' from the opera 'Die Zauberflöte'. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major (one flat) and 3/4 time. The piano accompaniment consists of a right hand with eighth-note patterns and a left hand with a steady eighth-note bass line. The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal line.

ster - ben, ach könt es doch nur bald geschehn, diß zu

nun hab ich mei-nen Gott ge-sehn, drum will ich ster - ben, ach könt es doch nur bald ge sehn,

will ich ster - ben, ach könt es doch nur

3 6 4 6 4 b 6 # 4 4

16

er - ben, diß zu er ben, diß könt es doch nur bald, nur bald ge - schehn, diß zu er ben, diß zu bald ge - schehn, diß zu er ben,

21

— zu er - ben, diß zu er - ben Was mein Hertz und auch mein Sinn, dort su - chet zu er - wer

er - ben, diß zu er - ben, was mein Hertz und auch mein Sinn, dort su - chet zu er - wer

was mein Hertz und auch mein Sinn

6 4 3 6 # 6 4/2

26

- ben, was mein Hertz und auch mein Sinn, auch mein Sinn sort su - chet zu er - wer

- ben, was mein Hertz und auch mein Sinn dort su - chet zu er - wer - ben,

dort su - chet zu er - wer

3 b 3 #

30

ben, er wer ben.

dort su-chet zu er - wer ben.

ben.

6 6 4 5 # b 5 6 5 4 4

[2] Aria

Oboes
Violins

Canto

Continuo

7 6 6 6 6 6 6

8

tr tr tr tr tr tr tr tr

Ach sü - ßer Trost,

6 6 6 6 6 5 6 6

16

ach sü - ßer Trost, sü - ßer Trost, der mich er - freut, der mich er -

24

freut, nun kan ich la - chen, nun kan ich la -

31

chen, nun kan ich la - chen, und mir auf mein be - trüb - tes Leid, auf mein be - trüb - tes Leid Freu -

41

de, Freu - de ma - chen

49

denn nun reißt mich Je - su Blick, Je - su Blick, Je - su Blick aus

59

Sa - tans Höl - len Ra

67

chen, aus Sa - tans Höl - len Ra

76

chen.

[3] Strophe 3 Da Capo

Es ist genug, mein matter Sinn, GWV 1169/45

Es ist genug, mein matter Sinn

Kantate zum Mariae Reinigung - GWV 1169/45

[1] Choral

Corno 1
 Corno 2
 Timpano
 Flauto trav. 1
 Flauto trav. 2
 Violino 1
 Violino 2
 Viola
 Canto
 Alto
 Tenore
 Basso
 Continuo

The score is for a choral movement in C major, 4/4 time. The vocal parts (Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso) are currently silent, indicated by whole rests. The instrumental parts include two horns (Corno 1 and 2), timpani, two traverso flutes, two violins, a viola, and a continuo. The strings (violins and viola) are marked "Con sordino" (with mutes). The continuo part includes figured bass notation: 6 4 5 3, 6, 6 4 2, and 6.

6

1. Es ist ge - nug mein mat - ter Sinn

2. So nim nun hin Herr mei - ne Seel,

1. Es ist ge - nug mein mat - ter Sinn

1. Es ist ge - nug, es ist ge - nug mein mat-ter Sinn, mein mat - ter Sinn sehnt sich da -
2. So nim nun hin, so nim nun hin Herr mei-ne Seel, Herr mei - ne Seel, die ich be -

4 3 # 6 5 6 6 # 6

12

seht sich da - hin wo mei - ne Vä - ter schla -
die ich be - fehl in dei - ne Hand und Pfle -
seht sich da - hin wo mei - ne Vä - ter schla -
hin, sieht sich da - hin wo mei - ne Vä - ter schla -
fehl, die ich be - fehl in dei - ne Hand und Pfle -
ge, in dei - ne Hand und Pfle -

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 3

18

fen: ich hab es end-lich gu-ten Fug

-ge: schreib sie ein in das Le-bens Buch

fen: ich hab es end-lich gu-ten Fug

fen: ich hab es end-lich gu-ten Fug, ich hab es end-lich gu-ten Fug es ist ge-
ge: schreib sie ein in das Le-bens Buch, schreib sie ein in das Le-bens Buch es ist ge-

4 6 6₄ 4 # 6₄

23

es ist ge - nug ich

es ist ge - nug daß

es ist ge - nug ich

nug, es ist ge - nug ich muß mir Ruh, ich daß
nug, es ist ge - nug ich daß

4 5 3 4 # 6 6 4 #

27

muß mir Ruh ver - schaf - fen.

ich mich schla - fen le - ge.

muß mir Ruh ver - schaf - fen.

ich mich schla - fen le - ge.

6 6 5 3 6 6 6 6 6 6

Basso

Wer Je-sum recht er-kennt, der sucht schon hier auf Er-den, nach Je - sus Vor-bild rein zu wer-den; und er entbrennt in glau-bi-gem Ver-

Continuo

6 4 6 6 7 6 # 6 4 2 6

6

lan - gen, bey dem zu seyn, den sei - ne See - le liebt. Komt denn der To - des Both ge - gan - gen, so wird er nicht be -

6 6 b b 7b 6 6

10

trübt; er geht mit Freu - den aus der Welt, weil ihm das Loos dort all - zu lieb - lich fällt.

6 6 6 6 #

[3] Aria

Vivace

Violini

Viola

Basso

Continuo

6 6 6 6 6 6 3 6 6

5

pp

Je - su mei-ne Glau - bens

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

9

Ar - me, mei-ne Glau - bens Ar-me hal - ten dich recht fest ge- faßt,

13

mei-ne Glau-bens Ar - me hal - ten dich recht fest, recht fest ge- faßt.

17

Je - su mei-ne Glau-bens Ar-me hal - ten dich recht fest ge - fast,

21

— mei-ne Glau - bens, mei-ne Glau-bens Ar-me hal - ten dich recht fest, recht fest, recht fest ge-

25 *f* *tr*

faßt.

6 6 6 6 6 6

29 *pp*

Muß ich lei - den, muß ich auch von dan - nen schei - den;

6 6 6 7 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 #

33 *tr*

ey! ich bin ge-trost ich bin ge-trost; ich weiß, was du mir zu dei - nemPreis, dort bey dir ver - spro -

6 6 # 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 #

37 *tr*

chen hast, ich weiß, was du mir zu dei - nem

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

40

Preis, dort bey dir ver-spro-chen hast.

6 # $\frac{6}{2}$ 6 6 $\frac{6}{2}$ 6 6 $\frac{6}{2}$ 6 6 # Da Capo

[4] Recitativo

Canto

Kan ich nur dort bey Je-su-le-ben, so liegt mir die-se Welt, und al-les was sie in sich hält, gar we-nig an. Mein Je-sus kan mir al-les

Continuo

6 5 6 6 6 # 6 6

7

ge-ben, was nur mein Glau-bewün-schen kan. Erist mein Trost, wenn mich ein Lei-den quält, mein Reich-thum, wenn mir et-was fehlt. Mein Brot in Hun-gers

6 $\frac{6}{5}$ 6 # 6 6

12

Noth. Er ist mein Schmuck und Eh-ren-kleid, in Ihm hab' ich Ge-rech-tig-keit. Er ist mein Le-ben in dem Tod. Dort

5 6 6 6

16

gibt Er mir den Him-mel zum Ge-winn. Sage: ir-re-ich, daß ich so gern bey Je-su bin.

7 6 # 6 6 6 6 # #

Un poco Largo

Un poco Largo

Violini

Viola

Canto

Continuo

8

tr

den, mit Freu den will ich von hin - nen, will ich von hin - nen schei -

14

tr

den, doch nur, doch nur wenns Gott ge - fält,

21

pp

pp

mit Freu den will ich von hin - nen, will ich von

27

hin - nen schei - den, doch nur, doch nur wenns Gott ge-

6 4 2 6 6b 5 4b 3 # 6 6 6 4 5 4

34

fält.

f *pp* *f* *f* *pp* *f* *f* *pp*

6 4 6 9 7 8 6 # 9 7 8 6 # 6 4 5 4

42

Soll es noch heut heut heut ge - sche

6 # 6 4 # 6 4 # 6 6 #

49

- hen, so wird ich Je - sum, so wird ich Je - sum se

6 # 6 4 2

56

hen, weil sich mein Glau - be weil sich mein Glau

61

be an Ihn hält, weil sich mein Glau - be an Ihn hält.

Da Capo

[6] Recitativo

Tenore

Wie werd ich doch so still und si-cher ra-sten, wenn ich im ho-hen Him-mels Port, das En-de al-ler Ley-dens

Continuo

5

Las-ten in stol-tzer Ru-he se-hen wer-de. Kom Je-su hoh-le mich von die-ser schö-den Er-de.

[7] Choral. Da Capo.

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